

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE of The New York Times

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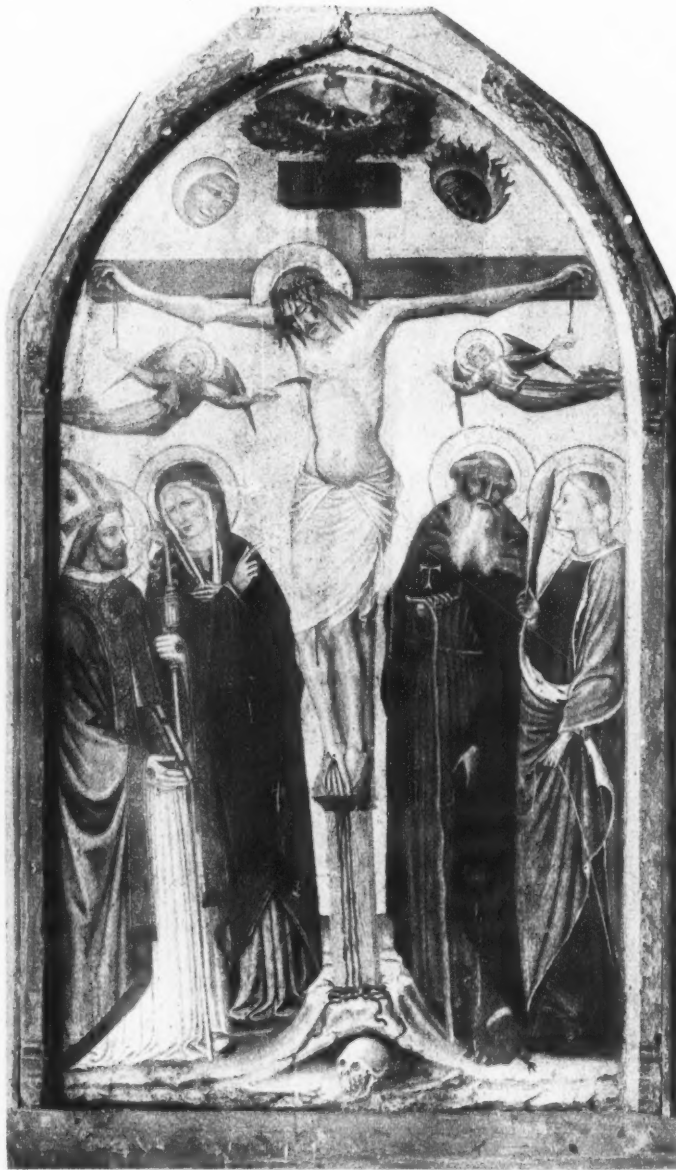
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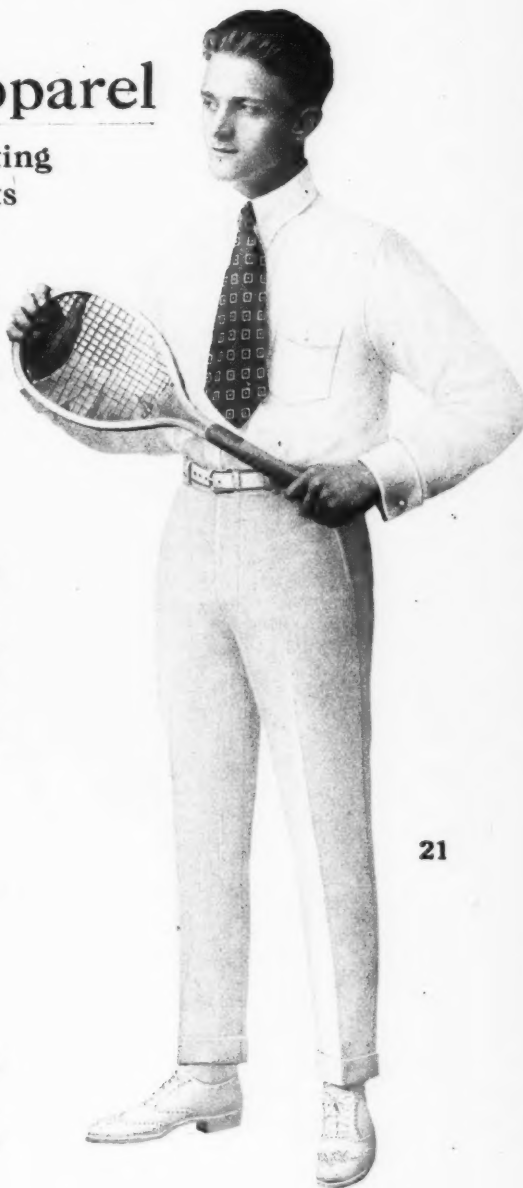
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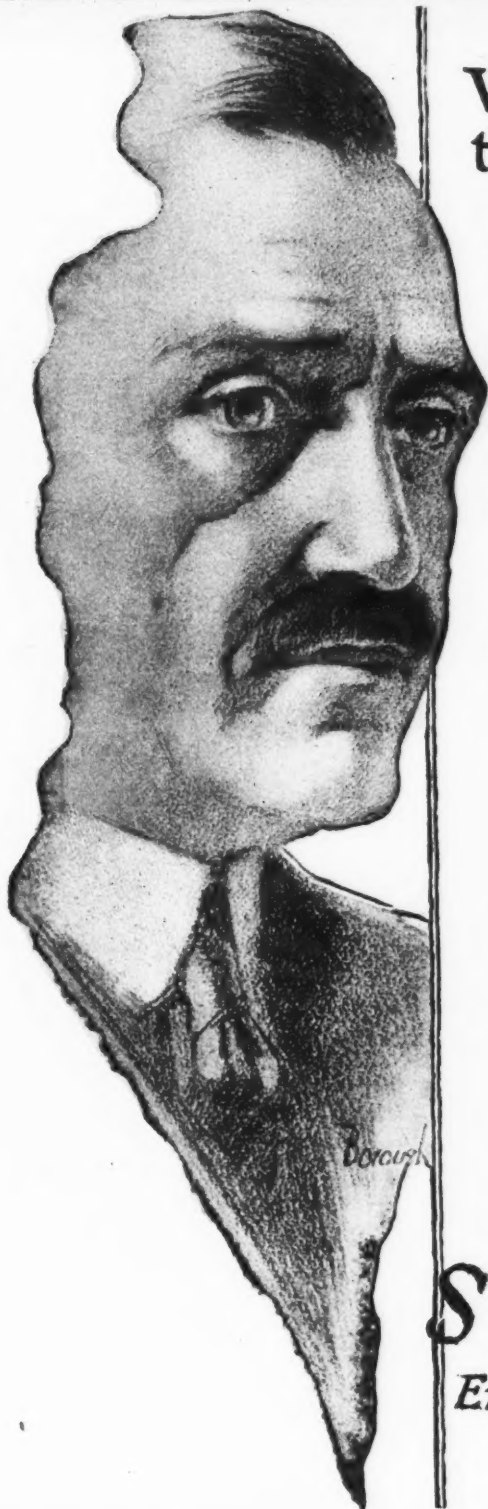
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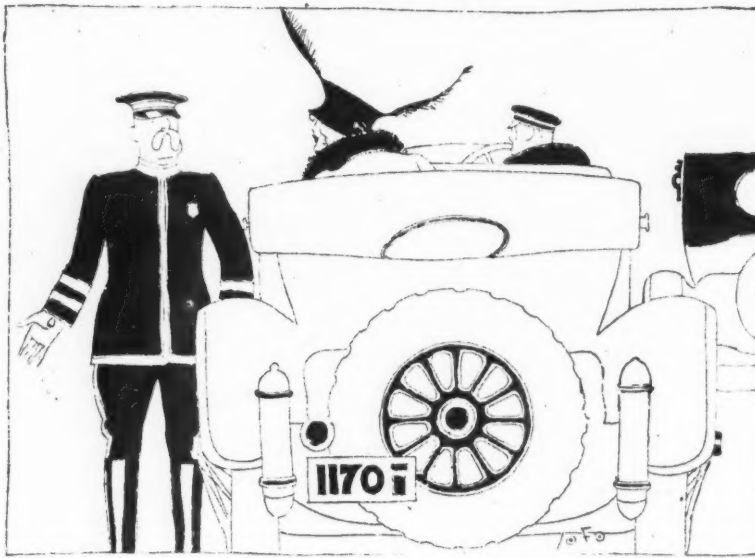
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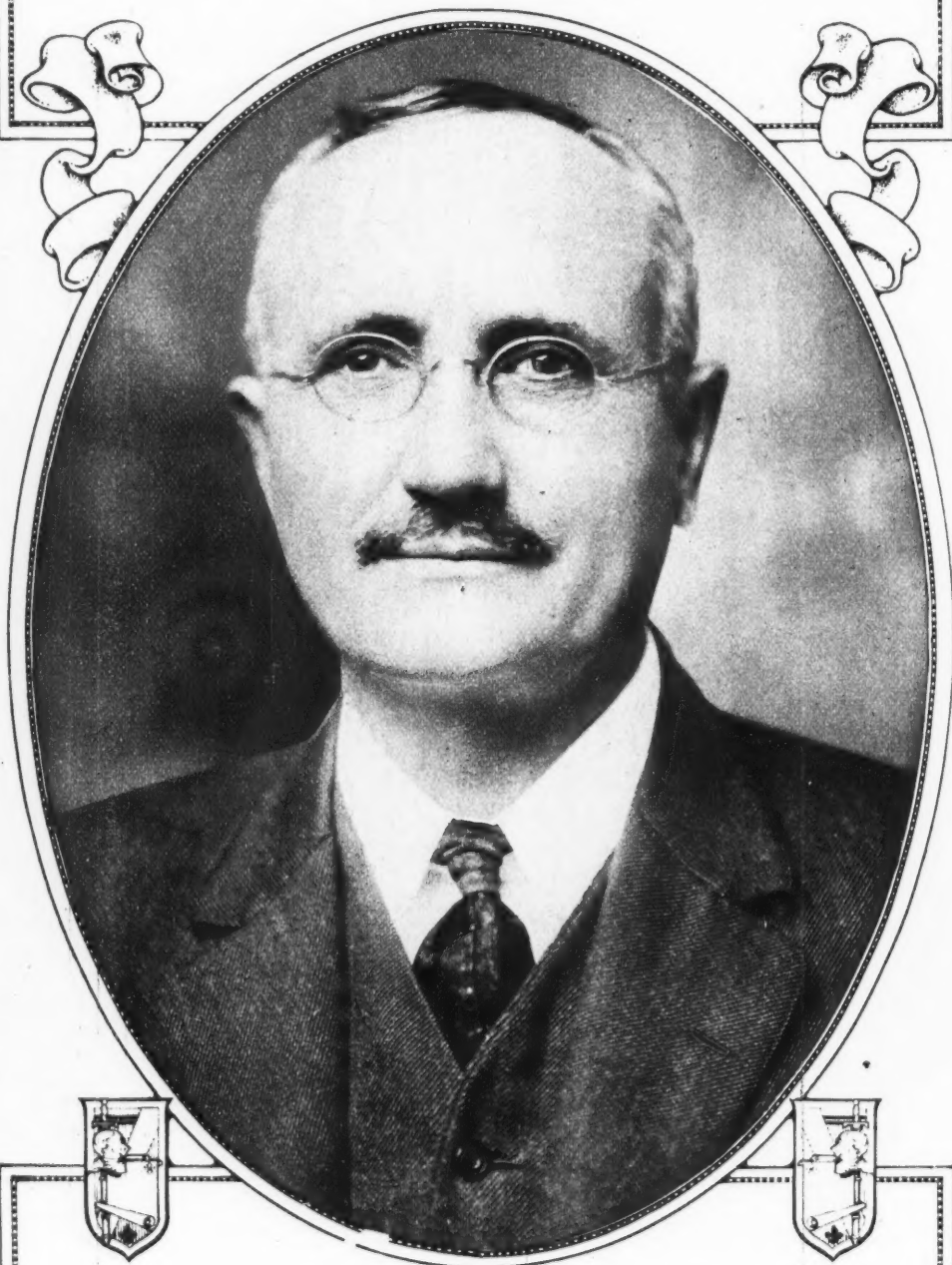
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The First United States Commander to Lead an Army in
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THE GERMAN CRISIS

Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg Resigns and Is Succeeded by Dr. Michaelis and a New Ministry

GERMANY was the last of the belligerent powers to experience a political crisis due to popular dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war, but the end of the third year brought as complete a change as that suffered by any other warring Government except Russia. On July 14, 1917, after a fortnight of excitement and tension that stirred all other nations and convulsed Germany, Dr. Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor since July 14, 1909, was forced to tender his resignation, and was succeeded by Dr. Georg Michaelis, Prussian Under Secretary of Finance and Food Controller. A complete reorganization of the Ministry ensued.

Owing to the rigid suppression of news regarding internal affairs in Germany, the world could obtain only meagre details of what was happening; such news as filtered beyond the border had suffered curtailment and revision at the hands of military censors, and much even of this information came second hand from Copenhagen, Stockholm, Amsterdam, and Berne, and was incomplete and contradictory. Enough, however, managed to elude the censors by word of mouth from trustworthy travelers and correspondents to disclose late in June that a political tumult was raging in Germany and that new political alignments were forming. The influence of the Russian revolution had been far more pervasive than the censored dispatches had indicated. A new situation, too, was acutely felt to be at hand when the German people realized that the United States intended to bring at once to the support of the Allies the full weight of its resources, wealth, and military power.

The discontent, which made itself manifest in half-suppressed newspaper comment and public expressions by men of prominence in civil and political life,

was lulled temporarily by the hope of a separate peace with Russia and by the popular belief that there was no possibility of Russia's again becoming a fighting factor for years. When the Russian offensive was resumed with brilliancy and with disastrous consequences to both Austria and Germany, and when the Russian armies gave proof that they possessed a greater power of offensive than at any time since the outbreak of the war, the crisis in Germany's political circles immediately became acute. It soon culminated in the collapse of the Bethmann Hollweg Government and the formation of an entirely new coalition, with all sorts of sensational possibilities in prospect as a consequence.

Revolt in the Saxon Diet

The first intimation of a serious state of affairs came in a dispatch which was permitted by the censors to pass late in June, relating that in "the Saxon Diet" the Prime Minister of Saxony declared "that the Government would fight any attempt to secure franchise reform in the individual States through the action of the Reichstag, whereupon the Socialist Vice President of the House declared that Saxon soldiers were not fighting because of loyalty to the King, but 'out of love of the Fatherland and monarchical principle.' If the Government of Saxony persisted in its reactionary attitude, he said that 'reform would come, if not from the Crown, then from the mob.' A Nationalist member of the Reichstag said 'that a vast majority of the Saxons were inspired by an utter lack of confidence in the Government.'"

The next important incident which was permitted to be made public occurred June 30, when it was announced that the movement to secure an equal electoral franchise in Prussia found cham-

pions in unexpected quarters. Leading Conservatives joined in a public declaration calling on the Government to take action for the prompt enactment of legislation in favor of election reform.

Demands for Franchise Reforms

Their call, which is an unequivocal indorsement of the agitation carried on by the Social Democrats for many years past, reads:

The mighty struggle in which the German people are now engaged is not yet ended. The undersigned until now have been largely of the opinion that the promise contained in the imperial Eastertide message for the elimination of acrimonious internal struggles might be fulfilled in co-operation with the conservative forces of our public life. However, the opposition emanating from these sources is so powerful as to call forth doubts whether this Easter message, in its true spirit, can at all become a reality after the conclusion of peace.

Today such doubt is intolerable. To keep that faith with the German people to which it is entitled, it is needful to take this work in hand without further delay. We therefore do not hesitate to publicly emphasize the need of the hour which demands of the Government that it forthwith lay before the Diet a draft of an election reform which not only calls for a general, direct, secret ballot, but for an equal voting franchise for all; and, further, that the Government in addition give effective, visible expression of the confidence to which the German people are entitled.

The call was signed by Professor Hans Delbrück, historian of the University of Berlin; Alexander Dominicus, Chief Magistrate of Schoeneberg; Professor Emil Fischer, Dr. Adolf von Harnack, Dean of the German theologians; Professor Friedrich Meinecke, Count Monts, retired Ambassador; Professor Walter Ernst, Dr. Paul Rohrbach, Dr. Friedrich Thimme, and Professor Ernst Troeltsch. The signers, almost without exception, have been looked upon generally as stalwart conservatives.

This call was hailed with enthusiasm by the Berliner Tageblatt and other important papers, and the Socialist newspaper Vorwärts pronounced it "an historic document."

Agitation in the Reichstag

The Executive and Constitutional Committees of the Reichstag met July 4,

preliminary to the opening of the new session of that body. The Socialists demanded that immediate steps be taken to bring about electoral reform by having the Reichstag initiate the measures to bring about reforms in the individual States. The Government was reported as being willing to proceed at once with Reichstag election reform, involving subdivisions of the larger election districts and introduction of the proportionate ballot system which is quite well known in certain States of the American Union, but the Government did not think it advisable that the Reichstag should make ballot reform in the individual German States, especially Prussia, its own business.

The Socialists, however, wished to make it the business of the Reichstag, because the Prussian Diet was ultra-Conservative and would not favor reform; hence they announced a preference to have the settlement of Prussian ballot reform placed in the Reichstag's power; that body, according to the Socialists' idea, need only pass a law making the individual State electoral systems conform to that of the Reichstag. This, translated into American politics, would mean that Congress in Washington has the right to dictate to Ohio or Idaho what ballot system these States have to employ in their home elections.

These episodes were but the mutterings before the storm. It broke forth in its fury on July 6 at a joint session of the Main Committee and Constitutional Committee, held prior to the meeting of the Reichstag. Although the sessions of these committees were strictly executive, the comments in the newspapers next day indicated that very serious dissensions occurred.

Erzberger's Change of Front

It became known that Mathias Erzberger, a leader of the Clerical Centre, one of the most influential Catholics in Bavaria, which is one of the most powerful States in the German Confederation, created a profound sensation by deserting the Pan German and War Junker factions, and declaring for peace without annexations or indemnities. He severely criticised the Government's submarine policy

and the blundering diplomacy which had brought America into the conflict as Germany's enemy. This was a complete volte face, as Herr Erzberger had previously been regarded as a staunch Government supporter and his party as a main factor of the coalition. When it became known that the majority of his party, representing the influential Catholic faction of the Reichstag, was with him, it was clear that a crisis was impending, and that a majority in the Reichstag was probably against the Government.

Crown Council Summoned

Only fragmentary dispatches appeared for several days after this, and these were contradictory, but the world knew that the situation was serious. The Kaiser summoned a Plenary Crown Council. The Crown Prince was called to Berlin, as were Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Chief Quartermaster General Ludendorff. On July 8 the Hamburger Fremdenblatt said:

We are now living through the greatest crisis in our political life which has arisen since the outbreak of the war. This crisis centres around the fundamental questions of war and peace as well as the reorganization of our internal political system. It is in the nature of things that every such event crystallizes into a personal contest. Member of Parliament Erzberger's speech in the Reichstag General Committee was an attack on the Government, which means against the Secretary of the Navy as well as against the Chancellor. To avoid misunderstanding it should be said that the continuation of the submarine war does not come into the question, not even so far as Erzberger is concerned. The question is of the revising of the war aim formula somewhat on the lines demanded by our Social Democrats. Resolutions in the Reichstag will not accomplish this.

Since May there have been many changes. One thing, however, has not changed, and that is the complete lack of contact between Government and people. The reason for all these happenings? One has only to remember that the speech of a member of Parliament who chanced to be called Erzberger has sufficed to overthrow the entire structure of both our internal and external politics, nor was the Government able to stop it. That shows the bankruptcy of the system. The Kaiser is today in Berlin and conferring with Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and the Chancellor. Is it thinkable that at such a time

the party leaders should not be present and that what they have to say should not be also considered?

Harden's Magazine Suppressed

On July 11 Die Zukunft, Maximilian Harden's publication, was suppressed, and Herr Harden was drafted under the auxiliary civil service law to be employed as a military clerk. The following is an extract from the article which caused the suppression:

Herr von Bethmann is like neither Buddha nor a preacher in the mountains. He who hopes for his world to be saved by heavy guns, poisoned gas, mines, flame throwers, submarines, and air bombs must do without a reputation for sublime humanity. Every child understands that. Are impartial neutrals, then, to learn to dream with their eyes open that in the pure scales of the North Germans gentle humanity weighs heavier than rattling armor of power? Neutrals will never learn.

Are they (Germany's rulers) allowed by slandering an enemy who is not yet ready to conclude peace and by insisting all too loudly upon their deep belief in the nearness of peace, to nourish the mad but damaging belief that Germany is more weary than the league of her enemies? Must we not demand that our rulers shall learn and apply properly the principles of psychology and acoustics? Must we not demand that before they choose new weapons, and even before they resume the use of old weapons, they shall think out to the end every possible effect—not merely the effect which is desired by the commander in the field?

Harden reviewed once more the efforts to make capital out of the Russian revolution. He argued that it might have been possible for Germany to imitate the methods by which Frederick the Great ended the Seven Years' War after the death of Empress Elizabeth of Russia, but it would have been necessary to act promptly and make complete concessions, and the achievement would have required powerful statesmanship instead of "the Swiss pills" which merely reminded foreign countries of Herr Zimmermann's proposals to Mexico.

The first official utterance as the outcome of the crisis was the following manifesto, issued July 13, and addressed to the President of the State Ministry:

Upon the report of my State Ministry, made to me in obedience to my decree of April 7 of the current year, I herewith decide to order a supplement to the same,

that the draft of the bill dealing with the alteration of the electoral law for the House of Deputies, which is to be submitted to the Diet of the monarchy for decision, is to be drawn up on the basis of equal franchise. The bill is to be submitted in any case early enough that the next elections may take place according to the new franchise. I charge you to make all necessary arrangements for this purpose.

(Signed)

WILLIAM.

(Countersigned)

BETHMANN HOLLWEG.

The same day a statement was issued in explanation of the summoning of the Crown Prince. An official communication issued in Berlin had stated that Emperor William expressed the opinion that the political and constitutional reforms demanded by the Reichstag were such that they concerned not merely himself but his successor, inasmuch as they would be permanent. For this reason the Emperor summoned the Crown Prince to attend the Crown Councils at which final decisions regarding the extent to which the Crown and the Government would make concessions to the Reichstag were to be reached.

A Berlin correspondent, commenting on the Emperor's manifesto ordering electoral reform, said that the introduction of the phrase "equal suffrage" into the Emperor's manifesto restored a provision which, according to Berlin gossip, was contained in the original draft of the Easter manifesto and was eliminated at the last moment in consequence of a reactionary intrigue against the realization of the Emperor's wish for universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage in Prussia. This is attributed to the reactionary Prussian Diet, which on an earlier occasion did not hesitate to disregard the sovereign's expressed wishes on franchise reform.

A correspondent at Berlin stated that the Emperor's manifesto forced the Prussian Ministry to discard its reform project, the draft of which had been largely worked out, and which, according to reports in Berlin political circles, although doing away with the three-class system, introduced the principle of plural voting as a concession to the Conservative and National Liberal Parties. A proviso was made that the attainment

of a certain age, marriage, or educational qualification entitled an elector to additional votes. The correspondent added:

The extent to which equal suffrage, if the Government is able to get its bill through the hostile Diet, will shake the domination of the Junker Prussian Government may be judged by the compilation of the probable strength of the parties in the Diet under this bill.

The Conservative leaders have figured, on the basis of their voting tables, that the strength of the two Conservative parties, now 262 out of a total membership of 443 in the lower house, would drop even under the most favorable conditions to 134, and might go to 100. The National Liberals, now with 73 members, would be represented in an equal suffrage House by 34 to 52, while the Socialists, with 10 members at the present time, would jump to at least 60, and might obtain as many as 125 seats. The Radicals would gain slightly and the Centre would show moderate shrinkage.

The Chancellor's Resignation

The story of the resignation of the Chancellor as related by The Associated Press correspondent is as follows:

The resignation of the Chancellor came in the end quite unexpectedly, for Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, in the prolonged party discussions and heated debates of the Main Committee of the Reichstag, which have been proceeding all through the week, seemed to have triumphed over his opponents, who had been clamoring for his head, by making concessions which were tantamount to the formation of a kind of imperial Coalition Ministry.

At the same time, the Chancellor, by a declaration that Germany was fighting defensively for the freedom of her territorial possessions, evolved a formula that seemed satisfactory to both those who clamored for peace by agreement and those who demanded repudiation of the formula "no annexations and no indemnities."

In all this, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg was strongly backed by the Emperor. The advent of the Crown Prince at the summons of his father to share the deliberations affecting the future of the dynasty seems to have changed entirely the situation with regard to the Imperial Chancellor. The Crown Prince at once took a leading part in the discussions with the party leaders, and his ancient

hostility toward Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, coupled with his notorious dislike for political reform, undoubtedly precipitated the Chancellor's resignation.

Majority Peace Resolution

The Reichstag met July 11 and refused to vote the war credit, pending a solution of the political crisis. On July 13 the majority bloc of the Centre Radicals and Socialists, constituting a majority, decided to support the following peace resolutions:

As on Aug. 4, 1914, so on the threshold of the fourth year of the war the German people stand upon the assurance of the speech from the throne—"We are driven by no lust of conquest."

Germany took up arms in defense of its liberty and independence and for the integrity of its territories. The Reichstag labors for peace and a mutual understanding and lasting reconciliation among the nations. Forced acquisitions of territory and political, economic, and financial violations are incompatible with such a peace.

The Reichstag rejects all plans aiming at an economic blockade and the stirring up of enmity among the peoples after the war. The freedom of the seas must be assured. Only an economic peace can prepare the ground for the friendly association of the peoples.

The Reichstag will energetically promote the creation of international juridical organizations. So long, however, as the enemy Governments do not accept such a peace, so long as they threaten Germany and her allies with conquest and violation, the German people will stand together as one man, hold out unshaken, and fight until the rights of itself and its allies to life and development are secured. The German Nation united is unconquerable.

The Reichstag knows that in this announcement it is at one with the men who are defending the Fatherland. In their heroic struggles they are sure of the undying thanks of the whole people.

This resolution was adopted July 19 by a vote of 214 to 116, with 17 not voting.

Crown Prince's Influence

The *Tägliche Rundschau* of Berlin indicated that the Chancellor was forced out by the Crown Prince. It said in its issue of July 14:

It will be remembered that the Crown Prince's attitude toward the Chancellor and his policies is well known, and that,

apart from many other instances, at the time the Chancellor at the request of the Kaiser went to inform the Crown Prince at his headquarters of the coming Easter message, the Crown Prince had no scruples in expressing his vigorous opposition to the Chancellor's policies. To avoid further discussion the Chancellor withdrew, stating that he had fulfilled the Kaiser's mission, inasmuch as he had informed the Crown Prince of the coming action.

A Berlin correspondent added:

It is recalled here, also, how during the angry debate in the Reichstag on the Agadir affair in November, 1911, when Herr von Heydebrand, the so-called "uncrowned King of Prussia," attacked the Government's policy as being pro-English, the Crown Prince sat in the gallery shaking his head at Bethmann Hollweg and openly applauding Heydebrand, even clapping his hands.

It was after this that the Crown Prince was banished by his angry father to Danzig, much to his disgust.

Also at the time of the Zabern incident the Crown Prince telegraphed to Captain Forstner, "Fester d'rauf!" ("Hit him again!") According to the view of many persons, the question whether the military or the civil power should dominate in Germany was settled at that time in favor of the former.

Judged by the comments of the German liberal press up to July 20, the political upheaval has strengthened the Extreme War Party and jeopardized the prospects of constitutional or Parliamentary reform.

The *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Tageblatt*, and *Vorwärts* on July 18 called attention to the fact that the appointment of Dr. Michaelis was made without previously sounding Parliament, and that the new Chancellor accepted the post without consultation with the party leaders or an attempt to learn whether his proposed policy was acceptable to the Reichstag. This they regarded as confirmatory evidence that the Reichstag's desire for formal acknowledgment of Parliamentary control of the old Government was ignored.

A correspondent at Amsterdam as late as July 18 asserted that Bethman Hollweg had fallen because he favored reform and a liberal peace policy. It was stated that he made two proposals, the first that in the direction of democratization a new body under the name of the

Reichsrat should be immediately constituted, which would be a sort of Committee of National Defense, and would for the time being act as a go-between twixt the Reichstag and the Emperor, thus instituting on a modified scale the principle of Parliamentary responsibility; the second that the Government should immediately make an authoritative declaration of "no annexations or indemnities." Both these proposals, it is asserted, had the backing of Bavaria and Austria, although Austria naturally had no open voice in the matter, which was purely a German internal affair.

Both proposals were violently opposed by the Crown Prince, von Hindenburg, and Ludendorff. It is declared that von Hindenburg came out openly for a "German peace."

Gain for Militarist Party

The official view at Washington was that the crisis had resulted in a com-

plete triumph for the Militarist Party, headed by the Crown Prince, and in a lessening of the prestige of the Emperor and the Moderates.

The letter of the Kaiser accepting the resignation of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg was made public July 16, as follows:

I decide with a heavy heart by today's decree to grant your request to be relieved from your office. For eight years you have occupied the highest and most responsible offices in the imperial and State services with eminent loyalty, and have successfully placed your brilliant powers and personality at the services of the Kaiser and the empire and the King and the Fatherland.

In the most grievous times that have ever fallen to the lot of the German countries and peoples—times in which decisions of paramount importance for the existence and future of the Fatherland have had to be taken—you have stood by my side with counsel and aid. It is my heart's desire to express my most cordial thanks for your faithful service.

First Address of the New Chancellor

DR. MICHAELIS, the new Chancellor, made his initial address to the Reichstag July 19. He paid a warm tribute to his predecessor. In the course of his remarks he said:

Unless I had believed firmly in the justice of our cause I would not have accepted office. We must keep before our eyes daily the events of three years ago, which are fixed in history and which show we were forced into the war by Russia's secret mobilization, which was a great danger to Germany. To have participated in a conference while the mobilization proceeded would have been political suicide. [Exclamations of "quite right" from the Conservatives.]

The mobilization of the Russian Army compelled Germany to seize the sword. There was no choice left to us, and what is true of the war itself is true also of our weapons, particularly the submarine. We deny the accusation that the submarine warfare is contrary to international law and violates the rights of humanity.

England forced this weapon into our hands through an illegal blockade. England prevented neutral trade with Germany and proclaimed a war of starvation. Our faint hope that America, at the head of the neutrals, would check English

illegality was vain, and the final attempt we made by an honorably intended peace offer to avoid the last extremity failed.

Then Germany had to choose this last weapon as a countermeasure of self-defense. Now, also, she must carry it through for the purpose of shortening the war.

The submarine war is accomplishing all, and more than all, it is expected to. False reports which found their way into the press as a result of the secret session of the Reichstag evoked for a time a certain feeling of disappointment which ended at a particular time. They did the Fatherland no service.

I declare, in fact, that the submarine war accomplishes in the destruction of enemy tonnage what it should. It impairs England's economic life and the conduct of the war month to month in a growing degree, so that it will not be possible to oppose the necessity for peace much longer. We can look forward to the further labors of the brave U-boat men with complete confidence. * * *

Russian Offensive Unimportant

In the East, in consequence of the confusion in Russia, the attack of Russian millions did not materialize, and there is comparative calm. Only after false reports and incitement by Russia's allies

had stirred the Russian soldiers did the present offensive develop. Its goal was Lemberg and Drohobycz. General Brusiloff, with all his enormous sacrifices, has gained only a slight advantage. * * *

Greece was forced by violence to enter the war against us. Our common front with the brave Bulgarians stands firm.

Italy, even through the eleventh Isonzo battle against our war-tried Austro-Hungarian brothers, will not be able to attain the goal of its breach of faith—the possession of Trieste.

We look without serious concern upon the optimistic sentiment in the Entente countries caused by America's intervention. It is easy to reckon how much tonnage is necessary to transport an army from America to Europe, how much tonnage is required to feed such an army. France and England are scarcely able to feed and supply their own armies without influencing the economic situation still further. After our previous success we shall be able to master this situation also through our fleet, particularly the submarines. That is our firm conviction and assurance. We and our allies, therefore, can look forward to any further development of military events with calm security.

How Much Longer?

The burning question in our hearts, however, is how much longer the war is to last. With this I come to a matter which stands in the centre of all our interest and all our proceedings today. Germany did not desire the war in order to make violent conquests and, therefore, will not continue the war a day longer merely for the sake of such conquests, if it could obtain an honorable peace.

The Germans wish to conclude peace as combatants who have successfully accomplished their purpose and proved themselves invincible. A condition of peace was the inviolability of Germany's territory. No parley was possible with the enemy demanding the cession of German soil.

We must, by means of understanding and in a spirit of give and take, guarantee conditions of the existence of the German Empire upon the Continent and

overseas. Peace must offer the foundation of a lasting reconciliation of nations. It must, as expressed in your resolution, prevent nations from being plunged into further enmity through economic blockades and provide a safeguard that the league in the arms of our opponents does not develop into an economic offensive alliance against us.

These aims may be attained within the limits of your resolution, as I interpret it. We cannot again offer peace. We have loyally stretched out our hands once. We met no response, but with the entire nation and with Germany, the army and its leaders in accord with this declaration, the Government feels that if our enemies abandon their lust for conquest and their aims at subjugation and wish to enter into negotiations we shall listen honestly and readily to what they have to say to us. Until then we must hold out calmly and patiently.

Nation's Most Serious Crisis

The present time is, in regard to food conditions, the most severe we have experienced, and the month of July has been the worst. Drought has delayed the crops, and want exists in many cases, but I can declare with glad confidence that relief will shortly set in and the population can then be supplied more adequately.

On the occasion of his acceptance of the Chancellorship Dr. Michaelis sent a message to Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, saying that he considered it his chief and inviolable duty to preserve the previous inheritance of the closest and most loyal confederation. It was his firm conviction that Austria-Hungary and Germany would be victorious and that the war would secure for the heroic people a happy and bright future. Count Czernin, in reply, said he saw the best guarantee of a happy future in intimate and confident co-operation with the leaders of the German policy and firm insistence upon the well-tried alliance.



How the Hohenzollerns and Junkers Control

By Charles Downer Hazen

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THE German Empire is a confederation, founded in 1871—founded by the Princes, not by the people—and consists of twenty-five States and one imperial territory, Alsace-Lorraine. The King of Prussia is ipso facto German Emperor. The legislative power rests with two bodies—the Bundesrat, or Federal Council, and the Reichstag. The Emperor declares war with the consent of the Bundesrat, the assent of the Reichstag not being required. He is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, he has charge of foreign affairs, and makes treaties, subject to the limitation that certain kinds of treaties must be ratified by Parliament. He is assisted by a Chancellor, whom he appoints and whom he removes, and who is responsible to him, and to him alone. Under the Chancellor are various Secretaries of State, who simply administer departments, but who do not form a Cabinet, either in the English or French or American sense. They are responsible to the Chancellor.

The laws that govern the German Empire are made by two bodies—the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. The Bundesrat, of which we in America hear very little, is the most powerful body in the empire, far more powerful than the Reichstag, of which we hear a great deal. It possesses legislative, executive, and judicial functions, and is a kind of diplomatic assembly. It represents the States; that is, the rulers of the twenty-five States of which the empire consists. It is composed of delegates appointed by the rulers. Unlike the Senate of the United States, the States of Germany are not represented equally in the Bundesrat, but most unequally. There are sixty-one members. Of these Prussia has seventeen, and the three votes allotted to Alsace-Lorraine

since 1911 are "instructed" by the Emperor. Thus Prussia has twenty, Bavaria has six, Saxony and Württemberg four each, others three or two, and seventeen of the States have only one apiece. The members are really diplomats, representing the numerous monarchs of Germany.

Voting Under Orders

They do not vote individually, but each State delegation votes as a unit and as the ruler orders it to. Thus the votes that Prussia controls are cast always as a unit and as the King of Prussia directs. The Bundesrat is in reality an assembly of the sovereigns of Germany. It is responsible to nothing on earth, and its powers are very extensive. It is the most important element of the Legislature, as most legislation begins in it; its consent is necessary to all legislation, and every law passed by the Reichstag is, after that, submitted to it for ratification or rejection. It is therefore the chief source of legislation. The Princes of Germany have an absolute veto upon the only popular element in the Government, the Reichstag. Representing the Princes of Germany, the Bundesrat is a thoroughly monarchical institution, a bulwark of the monarchical spirit. The proceedings of this princely assembly are secret, which is one reason why we know and hear less about it than we do about the Reichstag.

Much less important than the Bundesrat is the Reichstag, the only popular element in the government of the empire. It consists of 397 members, elected for a term of five years by the voters, that is, by men 25 years of age or older. The powers of the Reichstag are vastly inferior to the powers of the House of Commons or the Chamber of Deputies or the House of Representatives. While it, in conjunction with the Bundesrat, votes

the appropriations, certain ones, notably those for the army, are voted for a period of years. Its consent is required for new taxes, whereas taxes previously levied continue to be collected without the consent of Parliament being again secured.

The Reichstag has no power to make or unmake Ministries; in other words, to control the executive, the Emperor. It may reject the measures demanded by the Government, it may vote what amounts to a lack of confidence in the Chancellor, but to the Chancellor it makes notoriously little difference. As long as he enjoys the confidence of the Emperor he continues on his way. Bismarck was fond of repeating from the tribune that he was not the servant of the Reichstag, but exclusively of the Crown. William II. dismissed in turn Bismarck, Caprivi, Hohenlohe, and Bülow. The imperial will determines the fate, dictates the rise and fall of the Chancellor.

Bethmann Hollweg has been the Emperor's man in body and soul. No val-
leity of independence has surged up in that submissive bosom. A bureaucrat of forty years' standing, advancing by regular gradations from the lowest rung of the administrative ladder to the highest, his view has remained the same, his gaze has been at every stage and is still riveted solely upon his superior, and his superior never has been nor is now the Reichstag. His source of inspiration is in the Schloss, not in the benches of the popularly elected Legislature. Bethmann Hollweg is sometimes frank, frank to the point of rudeness. "Gentlemen," he said at the beginning of his Chancellorship, "I do not serve Parliament," and was loudly applauded for his insolence by the members of the conservative parties of the Parliament, thus a victim of the proud man's contumely. And he ended this scornful speech with the statement that there was one rôle which he absolutely refused to play, that of the servant of the people's representatives. Bethmann Hollweg, who has curiously been considered a liberal by some ill-informed and putative American liberals, has the merit of great clarity in his consistent, undeviating hostility and con-

tempt for parliamentarism and for democracy. When reproached by the Socialists for not resigning after a vote of censure, as they do in France, he retorted that even children knew the difference between France and Germany.

"I know full well that there are those who are striving to establish similar institutions here," he said. "I shall oppose them with all my force."

Only the other day this "liberal" told the Right and the Left contemptuously that he was serving neither of them. He had a more august master. Not only does the Reichstag have no control over the Government, not only is it blocked and immensely outweighed by the Emperor, by the Bundesrat, and by the army, but it is itself, even within the sacred circle of its impotence, a very inaccurate representation of the people. The electoral districts as laid out in 1871 were equal, each representing approximately 100,000 inhabitants. But since that day there has been practically no change, although population has increased in some, decreased in others, so that there now exists a glaring inequality between the districts. There are some members of the Reichstag elected by a few thousand voters, others by the hundreds of thousands. The voter in some districts counts for only a thirtieth of the voter in certain other districts. The large districts are naturally progressive cities, the small ones the conservative country regions. A Berlin Deputy represents on the average 125,000 voters; a Deputy of East Prussia, home of the far-famed Junkers, an average of 24,000.

The Impotent Reichstag

But the fundamental evil is that the elections to the Reichstag result in the creation of an Assembly politically impotent, which does not control the executive and whose powers of legislation are subject to an absolute veto by the Bundesrat—that is, by the reigning Princes, big and little. German government is government by the Emperor and the dynasties, with the consent of the Reichstag, a consent which in practice can be forced, if not given voluntarily, for the

Bundesrat has the power of dissolving the Reichstag whenever it wishes to, a power always efficacious thus far. The German governing classes, the Princes, the bureaucracy, agree with Moltke, who said that the real ballot was the cartridge which the German soldier carried in his cartridge box, that the real representative of the nation was the army.

For all practical purposes the Reichstag is merely a debating club, and a debating club that has no power of seeing that its will is carried out. As late as January, 1914, Dr. Friedrich Naumann of "Middle Europe" fame described the humiliating position of the body of which he was a member in the following words:

"We on the Left are altogether in favor of the parliamentary régime, by which we mean that the Reichstag cannot forever remain in a position of subordination. Why does the Reichstag sit at all, why does it pass resolutions, if behind it is a wastepaper basket into which these resolutions are thrown? The problem is to change the impotence of the Reichstag into some sort of power." He added: "The man who compared this House to a hall of echoes was not far wrong. To those who are accustomed to do practical work in life it appears a mere waste of time to devote themselves to this difficult and monotonous mechanism. * * * When one asks the question, What part has the Reichstag in German history as a whole? it will be seen that the part is a very limited one."

"Many millions among us," said Dr. Frank in the Reichstag on Jan. 23, 1914, "feel it a burning shame that while Germans achieve great things in trade and industry, in politics they are deprived of rights."

In the determination of national policy the German Nation has, therefore, no way of enforcing its wishes through the only agency it possesses. In other words, the nation does not govern itself. The main-spring of power lies, not in the Reichstag, but in the Bundesrat, the organ of the Princes, every one of whom claims to rule by Divine right, not one of whom has his policy dictated to him by his people's representatives—and in the Kingdom of Prussia.

Absolutism in Prussia

The Kingdom of Prussia is larger than all the other German States combined, comprising two-thirds of the territory and about two-thirds of the population of Germany. The empire differs from other confederations in that the States composing it are of unequal voting power in both the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. It was Prussia that made the German Empire, and made it by blood and iron, and in the empire she has installed herself at every point of vantage and guards jealously not only the primacy but also the actual power.

Prussia has, since 1850, had a Constitution and a Parliament. What are they like? The Constitution was granted by the King, and nowhere does it recognize the sovereignty of the people. What the monarch has granted he can alter or withdraw. All the restriction the Constitution imposes upon the monarchical principal is that henceforth it shall be exercised and expressed in certain forms, with a certain procedure. Prussian statesmen and Prussian jurists maintain with practical unanimity that this does not mean any diminution of the power of the monarch, that the fact that he creates a Legislature does not for an instant mean that he devolves upon it a part of the sovereignty.

The Legislature of Prussia is the Landtag, which consists of two chambers, the House of Lords and the House of Representatives. The Legislature does not initiate much legislation. Most of the bills passed by it have been proposed by the Government; that is, by the King. The Legislature has practically no control over the administration; that is, over the powerful and permanent bureaucracy. It can in this sphere express opinions and practically nothing more. The Constitution does not determine the composition of the House of Lords, but leaves that to the King to determine by royal ordinance. As a matter of fact, this House is really overwhelmingly dominated by the land-owning nobility, the famous Junkers, men frequently more royalist than the King, conservative and militaristic to the marrow of their bones. The House is subject to the absolute

control of the monarch through his unrestricted power to create peers. It is really a sort of royal council, an extension or variation of the royal power. It is a body that in no sense represents the people of Prussia. It has a veto upon all legislation, and the King has an absolute veto also.

Yet there exists another House in this Legislature which enacts the laws that govern 40,000,000 Prussians—the so-called House of Representatives; and marvelous, indeed, is the construction and composition of that body. Every Prussian man who has attained his twenty-fifth year has the vote. Is Prussia, therefore, a democracy? Not exactly, for the exercise of this right is so arranged that the ballot of the poor man is practically annihilated. Universal suffrage has been rendered illusory. And this is the way it has been done: The voters are divided in each electoral district into three classes according to wealth. The amount of taxes paid by the district is divided into three equal parts. Those taxpayers who pay the first third are grouped into one class; those, more numerous, who pay the second third, into another class; those who pay the remainder, into still another class. The result is that a very few rich men are set apart by themselves, the less rich by themselves, and the poor by themselves. Each of these groups, voting separately, elects an equal number of delegates to a convention, which convention chooses the delegates of that constituency to the lower house of the Prussian Parliament.

No Chance for the Poor

Thus in every Electoral Convention two-thirds of the members belong to the wealthy or well-to-do class. There is no chance in such a system for the poor, for the masses. This system gives an enormous preponderance of political power to the rich. The first class consists of very few men, in some districts of only one; the second is sometimes twenty times as numerous, the third sometimes a hundred, or even a thousand times. Thus, though every man has the suffrage, the vote of a single rich man may have as great weight as

the votes of a thousand workingmen. Universal suffrage is manipulated in such a way as to defeat democracy decisively and to consolidate a privileged class in power in the only branch of the Government that has even the appearance of being of popular origin. Bismarck, no friend of liberalism, once characterized this electoral system as the worst ever created. Its shrieking injustice is shown by the fact that in 1900 the Social Democrats, who actually cast a majority of the votes, got only 7 seats out of nearly 400. It is one of the most undemocratic systems in existence.

The voters do not choose their representatives directly. The suffrage is indirect, and is, moreover, as we have seen, grossly unequal. As this system is in vogue for municipal elections as well as for State elections, it throws power, whether in the municipality or in the nation, into the hands of men of wealth.

In 1908 there were 293,000 voters in the first class, 1,065,240 in the second, 6,324,079 in the third. The first class represented 4 per cent., the second 14 per cent., the third 82 per cent. of the population. In Cologne the first class comprised 370 electors, the second 2,584, while the third had 22,324. The first class chose the same number of electors as the third. Thus, 370 rich men had the same voting capacity as 22,324 proletarians. In Saarbrücken, the Baron von Sturm formed the first class all by himself, and announced complacently that he did not suffer from his isolation. In one of the Berlin districts Herr Heffte, a manufacturer of sausages, formed the first class.

This system would seem to be monstrous enough by reason of the monstrous plutocratic cast. But this is not all. This reactionary edifice is appropriately crowned by another device, oral voting. Neither in the primary nor the secondary voting is a secret ballot used. Voting is *viva voce*. Thus every one exercises his right publicly in the presence of his superior or his patron or employer, or his equals or the official representative of the King. In such a country as Prussia, where the police are

notoriously ubiquitous, what a weapon for absolutism! The great landowners, the great manufacturers, the State, can easily bring all the pressure they desire to bear upon the voter, exercising his wretched rudiment of political power.

On Feb. 10, 1910, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg defended this system in the Landtag with great frankness: "We are opposed to secret voting because, instead of developing the sense of responsibility in the voter, it attenuates it, and, on the other hand, it favors the terrorism which Socialists exercise over the bourgeois voters."

As a matter of fact, a large number of voters prefer to forego their miserable privilege entirely and stay at home. In 1903, 23.6 per cent. only of them voted for the Prussian House of Representatives, while the same year 75 per cent. voted in the elections for the Reichstag, where the secret ballot is used. Of those who failed to vote, much the larger percentage is from the third class, whose members evidently feel the nullity of the privileges they enjoy in this "people's kingdom of the Hohenzollern," as the Kaiser alluringly describes it.

An additional evidence as to the perfection of the "people's kingdom" is this: With the exception of a thoroughly insignificant measure passed in June, 1906, there has been no change in the electoral districts since 1858. No account has been taken of the changes in the population, and there are the same or worse disparities than there are in the case of the Reichstag, as previously stated. It thus happens that 3,000,000 inhabitants of four large Prussian districts return nine representatives, while three other million, divided among forty smaller districts, return sixty-six. Here again the natural result of the change of the population owing to the economic evolution has inordinately increased the influence of the rural districts, prevailing-ly Conservative.

In 1903 under this system 324,157 Conservative votes elected 143 representatives; but 314,149 Social Democratic votes did not secure the election of a single member.

Princes Have the Veto

Neither in the empire nor in Prussia nor any of the other States that compose the empire does the elected Chamber control the Government. In every case the Prince has the absolute veto. Where there are second Chambers, as in many of the States, they are not elected, but are nominated, and are a bulwark of a privileged class. And in Prussia even the so-called popular House is merely another name for a privileged class. Neither in the nation nor in the States are the Ministers controlled by the popular assemblies. They may vote a lack of confidence as often as they feel like it. The Ministers will go right on as long as the Emperor, King, Grand Duke, or Prince desires. You cannot amend the Constitution in any German State without the consent of the Prince. You cannot amend the Constitution of the empire without the consent of one man, William II. Reichstag committees may discuss and propose amendments to their hearts' content. After they have obtained the consent of the Reichstag a rocky road opens out broadly ahead of them. For they must have the approval of the Bundesrat, which is appointed by the reigning Princes of Germany and is obliged to vote as they direct. No amendment can pass the Bundesrat if 14 votes out of the 61 are cast against it. Of these 61, Prussia has 20. The Prussian votes are cast as the King of Prussia directs. If every individual in Germany except this one, and including the other Kings and Dukes, wanted a change in the Constitution, they couldn't get it if William II. said No! This is the people's kingdom with a vengeance!

The power of the Prussian Crown is virtually absolute—"absolutism under constitutional forms," said Rudolph Gneist, once considered in Germany a great authority on public law, before the modern school of publicists—Laband, George Meyer, Bornhak, Jellinek, Delbrück—became the teachers of Germany, and taught the most reactionary political philosophy that Europe has heard since the time of de Bonald and de Maistre. They have taught that the complete, uncontrolled power of the "Government"

(Regierung) is in the power of the Prince, that the granting of Constitutions did not mean the recognition of popular sovereignty in the slightest degree, that Legislatures are not representations of the people but are mere organs of the State, that Legislatures have no right to bring the State to a standstill, that is, have no right to refuse a budget until their wishes are respected; that, if they do, they are acting not in a constitutional but in a revolutionary sense; that if such a step is taken, then it is the right of the sovereign to recur to the principle that existed before the granting of the Constitution, absolute monarchy, and to do what he regards as wise.

German Legislatures are impotent and ineffective. The effective seat of political power in Germany is, as it has always been, in the monarchs. Germans may have the right to vote, but Napoleon I. and Napoleon III. showed men (and Bismarck among others) that that made no difference, if the vote led nowhere, if the body elected by the voters was carefully and completely nullified by other bodies over which the voters had no control whatever.

The Legislatures of Germany are really only royal councils, consultative assemblies. Bismarck's defiance of the Prussian Chamber and the voters who elected it, in the Conflict Period, from 1862 to 1866, has been decisive for the fate of popular government in Germany.

The All-Powerful King

Prince von Bülow, the ablest Chancellor of the empire since Bismarck, said in 1914: "Prussia attained her greatness as a country of soldiers and officials, and as such she was able to accomplish the work of German union; to this day she is still, in all essentials, a State of soldiers and officials." The governing classes are, in Prussia, which in turn governs Germany, the monarch, the aristocracy, and a bureaucracy of military and civil officials, responsible to the King alone. The determining factor in the State is the personality of the King.

Prussia has been the strongest obstacle the democratic movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has encountered. Germany in 1914 was less

liberal than in 1848. The most serious blow that the principle of representative government received during that century was the one she received at the hands of Bismarck. We have expert testimony of the highest and most official sort that the effects of that blow are not outlived. Prince von Bülow, writing in 1914, said:

"Liberalism, in spite of its change of attitude in national questions, has to this day not recovered from the catastrophic defeat which Prince Bismarck inflicted nearly half a century ago on the party of progress which still clings to the ideals and principles of 1848."

Parliaments will not control in Germany, the civil power will not dominate the military, until the present régime, exalted and strengthened by the victories of 1864-70, is debased and disgraced by resounding and disastrous defeats. It is doubtful if there will be any change even then, for the German people are the most docile in Europe, with no taste for revolutions, with no revolutions to their credit, as have England, France, America, Russia, even China. Personal Government has brought the present calamity upon the world, and the possessors of that power will fight to retain it, and will, if necessary, treat the German people with the same ruthlessness as they have treated the other peoples of Europe. Moreover, the solidarity of governed and governors, in atrocious crimes, during the past three years gives little hope to liberals in other countries who desire liberalism in Germany.

Let us not be hoodwinked by Easter messages from William II., or by cloudy and ambiguous utterances of Bethmann Hollweg, as presaging forthcoming liberalization of Germany. Prussian Kings have shown that not only are treaties scraps of paper but that Constitutions are also scraps of paper when their provisions annoy the monarch. And Prussian monarchs have never been squeamish about perjury. The famous Easter "promises" of this year will not be a greater hindrance to imperial and royal volition than previous, celebrated promises to Belgium and to the United States have been.

RUSSIA'S NEW OUTLOOK

Achievements and Problems, Both Civil and Military, in the Fourth Month of the Revolution

THE situation in Russia improved, on the whole, during the fourth month after the abdication of Nicholas II. The marked feature of this advance was the way in which the civil power and the army reacted upon each other, each strengthening and steadying the other. The great offensive, which began on July 1—the anniversary of the battle of the Somme—and which, up to the middle of the month, had netted some 35,000 prisoners, was made possible by the strong hand of Alexander Kerensky at the War Ministry and the iron discipline which he promised to introduce, aided by the power of his fiery eloquence, which swept through Russia like a flame. And, once the offensive was started, the rapid succession of victories gained by the far-sighted military genius of General Brusiloff reacted in a very favorable sense upon the position of the Provisional Government, giving it new strength and prestige. Hindenburg checked the advance on July 17, but success had already consolidated the Russian Army and hardened and condensed the national spirit of the civil population behind the lines.

The instant success of Brusiloff's army, which duplicated the striking achievements of June, 1916, went far to show that the demoralization of the Russian Army had not gone to anything like the point suggested by pessimist cablegrams from Petrograd. It was evident that General Brusiloff to a large degree succeeded in shutting out from the army under his personal command—the Army of the Southwest, which was attacking—the wave of demoralization which turned the heads of the troops at Kronstadt and Schlüsselburg; succeeded also to a great extent in preventing the "fraternization" which is believed to have been a war ruse of the German Intelligence Department. Further, he kept his men vigilant and prepared along the fighting front; for

during the three months of inactivity and disorder following the revolution the combined Teuton armies did not gain a foot of ground anywhere along the long Russian line. This was no doubt due in part to a politic holding back inspired by the illusive hope of a separate peace; but at the same time it showed that the Russian lines all the way from the Baltic to the Danube were kept watertight during all the months of political turmoil. Finally, the supply of shells must have been steadily accumulating behind the lines, in spite of all obstructions in traffic arrangements.

Two difficult problems confront the Provisional Government, both due to groups calling themselves Socialists. There have been armed riots on the Nevsky Prospect. The most serious disturbances since the new Government was organized occurred in Petrograd on July 17. The radicals, by continued agitation and inflammatory appeals against the Provisional Government under the leadership of an extremist named Lenin, succeeded in precipitating disorders in the streets, and a number of disaffected soldiers and sailors co-operated with them. There was fighting between mobs and the troops of the Provisional Government, and fully 500 were killed and wounded during the two days. It was openly charged that documentary evidence was discovered which showed that Lenin and other radical leaders were in the pay of pro-Germans.

The avowed purpose of the anarchist demonstrations was to overturn the Provisional Government and seize the reins of power, immediately recalling the Russian Army from the fighting line.

The Government succeeded in restoring order on July 19, and received evidences of renewed support from all parts of the country. A special Congress of Delegates representing all the Councils

REAR ADMIRAL ALBERT GLEAVES



Commander of the Naval Force Which Safely Convoyed the
First Part of the United States Army Across the Atlantic.

MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE BARNETT



Commander in Chief of the United States Marine Corps,
Whose Motto Is "First to Fight."

(Photo © Harris & Ewing.)

of Russia was summoned to meet July 28 to determine the future Governmental policy.

The second difficulty is also due to "Socialist" tendencies. It appears that two members of the Provisional Government, the Georgian Tsereteli and Terestchenko, Foreign Minister, whose name shows him to be of South Russian origin, were deputed to meet representatives of the so-called Ukrainian Party, which demands autonomy, if not independence, for a region partly in Southwestern Russia, partly in Galicia, called the Ukraine, or Borderland, (from the Russian "krai," a border.) It appears that these two Ministers committed the Provisional Government to certain extreme concessions, which practically suspend the authority of the Provisional Government in this loosely defined territory lying along and immediately behind the fighting line. The insistence that autonomy be granted at once caused the resignation July 15 of five members of the Cabinet, who were Constitutional Democrats.

The so-called "Ukraine" movement, which is very like the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, had a certain development among emigrants to the United States, and there was good reason to believe that it had strong German support. Whether its recrudescence in Russia is directly due to this cause, or simply represents the efforts of Socialist extremists bent on carrying out a theory of decentralization at whatever cost to the State, it is evident that the Ukrainian movement will require very careful handling if it is not to become an open menace.

Finland presents a like problem. The

people of the Ukraine are of Slavonic blood, speaking a dialect so close to Russian as to be easily intelligible to all Russians. The Finns, on the contrary, are non-Aryan, remotely allied to the Magyars and the Turks, and also to a wide strip of peoples along Northern Russia and through the whole length of Siberia. On the ground of difference of race they now demand separate treatment, further alleging that the rights of the former Czar, as Grand Duke of Finland, did not pass automatically to the Provisional Government at the revolution, but reverted to the Finnish people.

There is reason to see the hand of Germany in the Finnish imbroglio also. While the bulk of the population is Finnish, the ruling class is Swedish, speaking the Swedish tongue, and, like Sweden itself, strongly sympathizes with Germany in the present war. It has been announced that some kind of a working compromise with the Finnish "nationalists" has been reached, in part through the efforts of the Georgian, Nicholas Tscheidze, conspicuous during the early days of the revolution as President of the Committee of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which made so many difficulties for the Provisional Government during its early existence, especially by demanding that all army orders must be submitted to this committee before coming into force. This danger was measurably removed by the strengthening of discipline in the army, by the formation of committees of the army itself and of its officers, but even more by the strong and successful offensive. C. J.

July 20, 1917.

Premier Lvoff on Russia's Situation

[Statement made July 7, 1917]

PRINCE LVOFF, Russian Premier and Minister of the Interior, made a public statement at Petrograd on July 7 for the information of America. He began by declaring his unshaken conviction that, despite grave difficulties to be faced, Russia was marching toward

reconstruction and stability, and that the war was developing toward victory. Prince Lvoff continued:

Regarding the war, say that the latest action of our army inspires in me full hope. I am convinced that the new advance, even if temporarily stayed, is not finished, but is a prelude to much

greater successes. The advance thoroughly confutes the pessimists who unanimously predicted that an offensive by our supposed disorganized troops was impossible. From actual intercourse with delegates from the army and with other observers on the spot, I know that the offensive spirit is spreading.

This is no gradual reconstruction of the army, but the first stage of a complete process of recreation, which is almost miraculous, proving, in my judgment, that the troops are infected with a genuine revolutionary and crusading spirit and the consciousness of a mission to save Russia and influence world events in the direction desired by all progressive men.

The good side is the army's supply of munitions and other necessities, in which we are markedly better off than last year; in fact, guaranteed for the immediate future. The bad side is the transport difficulties, which still are serious. These are an evil heritage from the old régime, and, naturally, it is impossible to restore order in three months crowded with revolutionary activities. Even with stable political conditions the creation of efficient transport is a problem of years. Our great hope of speedy improvement lies with the Stevens Railroad Commission, (the American Commission,) from which we expect much.

American Aid Welcome

With regard to American help generally, I lay down no specific program. It will be simplest to say that all conceivable American aid is wanted in every domain. But the key to the solution of all our military and economic difficulties is transport amelioration, in which it is impossible to do too much.

Send my hearty thanks for the American project, the dispatch of the Red Cross mission, as here we have serious defects and deficiencies. I follow the news on this subject from New York with intense interest, but, having myself ceased to direct Red Cross and sanitary affairs, I can only beg America as far as possible to meet the requests for material and personal help made by our official Red Cross, in the consciousness that the triumph of our common cause will be furthered thereby.

I hope also for further American financial support. I am unable to say what form this will take, presumably a loan, but on this subject our Finance Minister, M. Shingaroff, in his discussion with the financial members of the Root Commission, will no doubt produce a practical program which America can help realize. America should note that we ourselves are ready to bear the heaviest monetary sacrifices and have already passed more drastic measures respecting taxation on

property than any of the other belligerent powers and are ready to go much further.

Among our other economic problems the most vital is food. Here again the central question is transport, and if America helps in this we can do the rest ourselves, as the total stock of food is sufficient for both the army and the civilian population.

The Internal Situation

Prince Lvoff proceeded to discuss the internal situation, declaring that this has had a marked influence on Russia's ability to carry on the fight in the war with vigor. He said:

I am glad to see last week's marked signs of amelioration. Tell America that I have daily evidence of the rallying of all the rational elements of the nation round the Coalition Cabinet. The irrational elements, such as the anarchists and Bolsheviki, are in such a minority that there is no reason to fear their getting the upper hand. Not only the bourgeoisie, but an overwhelming majority of the workingmen are against them. Their present excesses are merely a last desperate reaction against their consciousness of this.

On the whole, the nation is satisfied with the Provisional Government, because the Government, though hampered by grave military and diplomatic preoccupations, has already successfully carried through internal reforms which embody the traditional aspirations of Russia's progressives. Do you know that within a few weeks of the Czarists' downfall the Government realized a liberal fivefold program, giving complete liberty of person, speech, press, meeting, and religion, and going therein further than most progressive democracies in Europe or America?

Although these tremendous reforms were pushed through hastily in the absence of legislative machinery, not one of them has been subjected to serious criticisms even by the avowed anti-Government factions. Perhaps America knows of this, but does she know that we have also executed a comprehensive scheme of minor economic, financial, and social reforms, which has been unanimously approved?

I refer you, for instance, to the complete democratization of the country, local self-government in the towns throughout the country, with the universal and equal suffrage for both sexes regardless of qualifications, the special feature of which is the establishment of a smaller unit of local government, in which is abolished the inequality between peasants and the other classes, thus eradicating from the Russian law the ancient and degrading distinction of "the privileged

classes"; the reform of the military courts and of local courts of justice, with the admission of women to the magistracy and legal profession; educational reform, including a new university in the City of Perm; secondary school reconstruction, the reform of the backward parish elementary school, the democratic income property tax, with the proposal for the reform of succession taxation; the organization of peasant home work, which is an important factor in our village economy; the mobilization of the nation's technical knowledge for war purposes; many church reforms, among them the election of the highest prelates by popular vote, and the preparations for an ecumenical church council, aiming at the abolition of State despotism in church affairs.

Through these reforms Russia in 100 days has advanced 100 years.

America as Russia's Ideal

Prince Lvoff went on to declare that diplomatic relations with the Allies were much improved; that, despite three months of stagnation on the part of Russia's Army and the critical attitude of her democracy to the Allies, the program of mutual confidence was unshaken. "Equally satisfactory," said Prince Lvoff, "are our relations with America. Let me here express to America our hearty satisfaction at the visit of the Root Mission." In conclusion he discussed Russo-American and Russian world relations with fervor, declaring

that the greatest hope lay in Russia's new approximation to America. He added:

For decades of darkness and oppression America had been our ideal of freedom and intellectual and material development; rather, not our ideal, for we had considered it unattainable, but a remote fairy tale of happiness. Now we have in one jump reached America's condition of freedom. There remains the slower but not impossible task to overtake her in education, material progress, culture, and respect for order.

We are on the right track. The spirit of new Russia is closely akin to the immemorial spirit of free America, and where the spirit is, work follows. That means Russia's salvation. But that is not all. I am convinced that our revolution is no mere domestic affair, but a stage in the new world movement toward liberty, equality, fraternity—perhaps the greatest stage in the world's history. Equally, I consider that the war, like, indeed, preceding wars, is a stage in world evolution. This war's mission is to spread throughout the world all that is vital and abiding in our revolution. That is why as a citizen of the world I desire victory.

I regard the growing friendship between Russia and America as a Providential instrument in this world process. Therefore I consider that all the help, sympathy, and encouragement we get from your people beyond the seas constitute not merely a local, temporary benefit, but a permanent contribution toward the regeneration of the world.

Russian Ambassador's Formal Address

BORIS BAKHMETEFF on July 5 formally presented his credentials to President Wilson as Russian Ambassador. The formal addresses were as follows:

Mr. President, I have the honor of presenting to you the letters by which the Provisional Government of Russia is accrediting me to the Government of the United States of America as its Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

My Government has directed me to express to you its profound gratitude for the noble act of prompt recognition by your Government of the new order established in Russia and to convey to the Government and to the people of the United States the feelings of sincere sympathy and friendship.

At the present time the historical paths of the United States and Russia have been drawn close in the common struggle for

freedom and lasting peace of the world, and in this strife the new-born Russian democracy is being guided by the same unselfish aims, the same human and democratic principles, as this great Republic.

The success of our mutual task makes essential the firm establishing of the democratic régime in Russia, as well as the consolidation of Russia's fighting power. To that end are tending the efforts of the Provisional Government which is awaiting to find a source of new strength in the hearty spirit and brotherly support of the United States. For such attainments the Provisional Government is endeavoring to establish a full understanding and a close co-operation with the Government of this country, whose immense resources and unlimited energy can contribute most effectively to the achievement of our cause. To bring such co-operation into effect and to establish

means of common activity on the most practical lines and with no loss of time, the Provisional Government has considered it necessary to bestow on me exceptional powers to treat and decide, on behalf of my Government, all manifold questions in which such co-operation should have to reveal itself.

To secure unity of action the Provisional Government has concentrated under my supreme guidance the activities of various Russian institutions and representatives in this country, and has provided for amplified efficiency by sending a number of new competent delegates who have accompanied me on my mission.

Confident that the natural sympathy of the two nations will grow now into bonds of solid friendship, I look forward with the greatest hopes to the results of united efforts of the two great democracies, based on mutual understanding and common ends.

The President's Reply

Following is the reply of the President:

Mr. Ambassador, to the keen satisfaction which I derived from the fact that the Government of the United States was the first to welcome, by its official recognition, the new democracy of Russia to the family of free States is added the exceptional pleasure which I experience in now receiving from your hand the letters whereby the Provisional Government of Russia accredits you as its Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States and in according to you

formal recognition as the first Ambassador of free Russia to this country.

For the people of Russia the people of the United States have ever entertained friendly feelings, which have now been greatly deepened by the knowledge that, actuated by the same lofty motives, the two Governments and peoples are co-operating to bring to a successful termination the conflict now raging for human liberty and a universal acknowledgment of those principles of right and justice which should direct all Governments. I feel convinced that when this happy day shall come no small share of the credit will be due to the devoted people of Russia, who, overcoming disloyalty from within and intrigue from without, remain steadfast to the cause.

The mission which it was my pleasure to send to Russia has already assured the Provisional Government that in this momentous struggle and in the problems that confront and will confront the free Government of Russia that Government may count on the steadfast friendship of the Government of the United States and its constant co-operation in all desired appropriate directions.

It only remains for me to give expression to my admiration of the way in which the Provisional Government of Russia are meeting all requirements, to my entire sympathy with them in their noble object to insure to the people of Russia the blessings of freedom and of equal rights and opportunity, and to my faith that through their efforts Russia will assume her rightful place among the great free nations of the world.

Indictment of Czar's Former Officials

LATE in June, 1917, the Provisional Government began to take severe measures against the highest officials of the old régime who are declared to be guilty of breaches of the laws of the empire.

An indictment was handed down against former Prime Minister Stürmer under a law which provides severe punishment for the arbitrary transgression by an official of the limits of his rightful power.

Former Secretary of the Empire, M. Krizhanovsky, the strongest man in the Government under former Premier Stolypin, was indicted for issuing a decree in June, 1907, by which the election law was violated in defiance of the Constitution of 1906.

M. Chtyheglvitoff, former Minister of Justice, was indicted for unlawfully stopping the prosecution of former Governor Skallon of Warsaw, who was charged with having accepted a bribe of 100,000 rubles.

Former Governor Kourloff was charged with complicity in the murder of Colonel Karpoff, Chief of the Secret Police of Petrograd, who was assassinated in 1909 and whose death caused a great sensation.

General Rennenkampf, one of the army commanders in the early part of the war, and who was defeated by von Hindenburg in East Prussia, was indicted for alleged offenses, conviction of which means imprisonment.

Against M. Protopopoff, former Min-

ister of the Interior, was preferred a new charge—that of stealing from the telegraph archives the original dispatches between the late mystic monk Rasputin and Emperor Nicholas and Empress Alexandra. On conviction Protopopoff would be subject to a jail sentence.

Officials in Their Cells

A correspondent who visited the Fortress of Peter and Paul thus describes the prison cells of the former Ministers of the Czar:

In the bastion are more than eighty cells, some above and some below. I entered one of these cells. A room twenty-one feet long and about twelve feet broad, rather high, lit by one semicircular window almost at the ceiling. It is impossible to peep out of it, as the iron bed and the table are fixed to the wall. The window is stoutly barred with iron. The air in the cell is damp and stuffy.

The bed consists of wooden planks laid over the iron framework. It has a straw mattress and a single straw pillow. Above is a coarse cloth blanket. The table is painted dark gray. A water tap and basin are fixed to the wall and there are the necessary toilet utensils; nothing more.

The cells below are furnished similarly, but they are much damper and colder. In them one feels the nearness of the waters of the Neva, the splash of which on the stone walls is heard by the captives. Every quarter of an hour the boom of the big cathedral clock bell reverberates through the bastion.

The captives have exactly the same rations as the soldiers, mainly stew, black bread, and soup. They are allowed to purchase no dainties. The same conditions apply to all, to Stürmer and Protopopoff, to the former Minister of War, Sukhomlinov, and his wife, to Fräulein Virubova—companion of the former Czarina and close friend of Rasputin.

Sukhomlinov makes a painful impression on the observer. A thin old man with an unkempt gray beard and narrow little eyes. His troubled glance met ours as we peeped through the hole in the door.

The notorious "hangman" the gendarmes officer, Sobestchanki, lay on his bed, enveloped in tobacco smoke through which faintly appeared his cruel features.

Stürmer, when I peeped in, was sitting, with bowed shoulders, on the end of his bed, his back to the door.

Fräulein Virubova sat on her bed, now and then crossing herself. Near her lay a crutch. Since her injury in a railroad smash on the Moscow-Windau-Ribinsk road two years ago she has had to get about with crutches.

Protopopoff, like a beast in its den, strode to and fro, to and fro, incessantly from corner to corner of his cell. He paid no attention to the sound of men moving in the corridor. He did not even glance at the hole in the door.

New Financial Measures

The Provisional Government issued a law June 29 increasing the existing progressive income tax to 30 per cent. on incomes over \$200,000. Another new law increases the war tax on increment of industrial profits to 60 per cent. A third law establishes a supplementary progressive income tax, rising on the largest incomes to more than 30 per cent., and making, together with the highest ordinary income tax, 60 per cent. of the income.

The new Russian loan received subscriptions amounting to \$1,500,000,000, bringing the total debt to \$20,500,000,000.

A dispatch dated July 12 from Petrograd stated that the deposed Emperor Nicholas had appealed to the Provisional Government to allow him and the members of his family to acquire stock in the "Loan of Freedom." He announced that the amount of their investment in the loan depended upon whether the Russian State intended to support his family. He added that of his own property he possessed now only 900,000 rubles, his wife 1,000,000 rubles, his heir, Alexis, 1,500,000; his daughter Olga 3,000,000, and his other daughters between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 rubles. The nominal value of the ruble is 51.46 cents.

The Grimm Episode

The German conspiracy for a separate peace received a severe setback when the General Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of all Russia, by a vote of 640 to 121, approved the attitude of the Government in expelling from Russia Robert Grimm, a Swiss Socialist pacifist, who had received the following communication, when in Petrograd, from M. Hoffmann, member of the Swiss Federal Council:

Germany will not undertake an offensive so long as she considers it possible to arrive at an understanding with Russia. Numerous conversations with prominent politicians lead me to believe that Germany is seeking to conclude with Russia a mutually honorable peace, and a peace

which would result in the re-establishment of close economic and commercial relations with Russia; the financial support of Germany to Russia for her restoration; no intervention in the internal affairs of Russia; a friendly understanding with regard to Poland, Lithuania, and Courland; and the restoration to Russia of her occupied territories, in return for the districts of Austria invaded by Russia. I am convinced that if the allies of Russia desired it, Germany and her allies would be ready immediately to open peace negotiations.

On hearing of this document the Russian Government requested the Socialist Ministers MM. Tseretelli and Skobelev to demand an explanation from M. Grimm, who handed to these Ministers a document in which he sought to prove that he had had no communication, either direct or indirect, on the subject of peace negotiations, and that the telegram mentioned above was an endeavor on the part of Germany to profit by his stay in Russia to re-establish the bonds of international Socialists and a general peace in the interests of the German Government; and, furthermore, that when in Berne having his passport viséd, he avoided all political conversations and all contact with the German Majority Socialists; and that finally, in his capacity of a Socialist, he could not be the intermediary for imperialistic peace projects between Governments.

MM. Tseretelli and Skobelev found these explanations unsatisfactory, and the Provisional Government therefore requested M. Grimm to leave Russia, and he left. The episode caused the resignation of M. Hoffmann from the Swiss Council.

Regiment of Russian Women

One of the most picturesque episodes of the return of Russia into the war was the formation of a woman's regiment known as "The Command of Death," which was reviewed at Petrograd June 21 by Minister of War Kerensky.

The Associated Press correspondent who visited the barracks found posted at the gate a little blue-eyed sentry in a soldier's khaki blouse, short breeches, green forage cap, ordinary woman's black stockings, and neat shoes. The sentry was Marya Skrydloff, daughter of Admiral Skrydloff, former commander of

the Baltic Fleet and Minister of Marine. Inside there were four large dormitories, the beds without bedding and strewn with soldiers' heavy overcoats. In the courtyard 300 girls were at drill, mostly between 18 and 25 years old, of good physique, and many of them pretty. They wore their hair short or had their heads entirely shaved. They were drilling under the instruction of a male Sergeant of the Volynsky regiment, and marched to an exaggerated goosetep.

Commander Lieut. Butchkareff explained that most of the recruits were from the higher educational academies or secondary schools, with a few peasants, factory girls, and servants. Some married women were accepted, but none who had children. The girl commander said:

We apply the rigid system of discipline of the pre-revolutionary army, rejecting the new principle of soldier self-government. Having no time to inure the girls gradually to hardships, we impose a Spartan régime from the first. They sleep on boards without bedclothes, thus immediately eliminating the weak. The smallest breach of discipline is punished by expulsion in disgrace.

The ordinary soldier's food is furnished by the guards' equipage corps. We rise at 4 and drill daily from 7 to 11, and again from 1 to 6. The girls carry the cavalry carbine, which is five pounds lighter than the regular army rifle. On our first parade I requested any girl whose motives were frivolous to step out. Only one did so, but later many who were unable to stand the privations left us.

We are fully official, and are already entered on the list of regiments. Uniforms and supplies are received from the Ministry of War, to which we render account and present reports. Yesterday the commander of the Petrograd military district reviewed us, and expressed his satisfaction. I am convinced that we will excel the male fighters.

Asked as to the attitude of the male army, Commander Butchkareff said that only the Volynsky regiment, which led the Petrograd revolution, was really favorable. The regimental clerk is Mme. Barbara Rukovichkoff, editor of the weekly *Woman and Economy* and author of some admirable short stories.

Duma Refuses to Be Abolished

The Pan-Russian Congress of Soldiers' Deputies on June 23 passed a resolution to abolish the Duma, but this was ignored

by the Duma, which passed a resolution on June 29 as follows:

The Duma, having powerfully contributed to the abdication of Nicholas, and the formation of the provisional revolutionary government, which the entire country immediately recognized, thus showing its confidence in the Duma, and, having in this manner acted as a revolutionary institution independently of its position during the old régime, is of the opinion that it cannot cease to exist as an organ of national representation, and

will adhere to its patriotic duty of raising its voice, if necessary, to preserve the fatherland from the dangers which threaten it, and guide it in the right path.

Courts-martial have been abolished by the Provisional Government. It is provided, when offenders are caught in circumstances of particular gravity the case will be submitted under forms of urgent procedure to a permanent military court.

Root Commission in Russia

THE first formal address to the Russian Government in behalf of the American Mission was made by Elihu Root, the Chairman, at Petrograd, June 15, (printed in July CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.) The mission immediately plunged into active work, the various members taking up separately the various features, and dividing their functions. On June 22 the entire body proceeded to Moscow, where, at the palace of the Governor General, they met representatives of the Zemstvo and Municipal Unions, the Zemstvo Industrial Committee, and the local Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Root's Address at Moscow

The meeting was in the nature of a test case to determine whether the commission was to have the real sympathy of the Socialist element in the country. It is said here that no foreigner ever before succeeded in enlisting the attention and interest of this association of committees representing the working masses of Moscow. But as Mr. Root began to speak, antagonism and indifference yielded to rapt attention, and he was warmly applauded at the conclusion. In the course of his address Mr. Root said:

We have seen nothing since we came to Russia that gives cause for criticism. We marvel at the self-control, the kindness of spirit, and the sound common sense that the Russians display. We feel that the work you are doing in the committees is on the right path toward an actual permanent democracy.

The Government of Germany, the German social system, even German socialism, are all militaristic in their essential nature. They shall not gain control of

free America, and if we can help you to prevent their gaining control of free Russia we shall be happy in feeling that we have assisted in the perpetuation of the ideals of our fathers who fought and sacrificed to make us free.

The representatives of the various groups replied, formally welcoming Mr. Root and the other members of the commission. At the second meeting, before the City Duma, Mr. Root said:

We have heard reports about dangers threatening your new liberty, but we hope you will find a way of expanding your experience in local self-government into power which will govern the whole nation. We have the marvelous spectacle of a people remaining peaceful and preserving the rights of others without the enforcement of law—a people waiting only for the establishment of a strong Government, which will lay down the proper basis for law and order. You have made sacrifices in the past; we know that you will still make sacrifices to preserve your freedom, won at such a high cost. Now comes the test. You must make sacrifices. You must struggle until your liberty is secure. We have faith that Russia will do this.

The Mayor in reply said: "Russia welcomes America's assistance in her present period of infirmity and economic exhaustion." He concluded with a eulogy of President Wilson, saying: "The aims of the war, the definition of the problems standing before humanity have been given by your great pacifist, President Wilson, who, in preserving the ideal of peace, has realized the vital importance of the struggle. His way of speaking appeals to us."

On motion of the Mayor the meeting unanimously decided to send a telegram to President Wilson, thanking him for sending the Root Commission to Russia. The experiences at Moscow gave much

encouragement to the mission, and Mr. Root announced that he felt that the situation was rapidly clearing.

Admiral Glennon's Service

An interesting episode occurred at Sebastopol when the American Admiral, James H. Glennon of the mission, succeeded in tranquilizing sailors of the Black Sea fleet who had mutinied and dismissed all their officers. He arrived soon after the sailors had sent away Admiral Koltchak. At the request of the sailors, Admiral Glennon addressed them, urging a continuance of the war without cessation.

He was heartily applauded. He also addressed a general meeting of representatives of all the councils of soldiers, sailors, and workmen of Sebastopol, where his advocacy of renewed energy in pushing the war was well received. After hearing the Admiral, the meeting voted, 60 to 3, to restore all the Black Sea fleet officers, with the exception of Admiral Koltchak and his staff, who were distrusted by the sailors. The meeting also voted to support the Provisional Government. Conditions with the fleet since then have been tranquil.

Work of Mr. Russell

Charles Edward Russell, Socialist and a member of the American Commission, outlined the aims of the United States and the reasons which brought the country into the war before a full Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates on June 25. Mr. Russell was warned in advance that he might expect an unfriendly demonstration on the part of the extremists among his auditors, but for the most part his hearers were sympathetic, and often interrupted him with applause.

The declaration of Mr. Russell that the United States was fighting only because the democracies of the world were in danger, and that after democracy was safe the people would turn to social reform, was cheered to the echo.

M. Tcheidze, President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in replying to the speech of Mr. Russell, said the democracy of Russia was built upon the same foundation as that of the United States, and that Russia would carry on the war until mutual aims were

achieved. The American Mission announced on July 10 that its purpose had been accomplished in a month's visit. Chairman Root sent this statement:

The mission has accomplished what it came here to do, and we are greatly encouraged. We found no organic or incurable malady in the Russian democracy. Democracies are always in trouble, and we have seen days just as dark in the progress of our own.

We must remember that a people in whom all constructive effort has been suppressed for so long cannot immediately develop a genius for quick action. The first stage is necessarily one of debate. The solid, admirable traits in the Russian character will pull the nation through the present crisis. Natural love of law and order and capacity for local self-government have been demonstrated every day since the revolution. The country's most serious lack is money and adequate transportation. We shall do what we can to help Russia in both.

Stevens Railway Commission

John F. Stevens, as head of the American Railroad Commission in Russia, has officially reported recommending certain reforms and asking that Russia be given a credit of \$375,000,000 in this country for new locomotives, cars, and other equipment.

The construction of workshops at Vladivostok for the putting together of locomotives imported from the United States is deemed necessary by the commission. In all repair shops work must continue uninterruptedly twenty-four hours a day, thus enabling a reduction in the percentage of locomotives out of use. It also will be necessary to take rational measures for the acceleration and regulation of exchange of cars between the different roads and for the speeding up of the system of loading.

The creation of a special State Department, the chief of which will be an Inspector General responsible for seeing that the whole network of roads is supplied with all necessary material both for traffic and repairs, and also for the responsible distribution of such material between the different roads, is recommended by the commission. This official must have the right to demand the necessary material, and he himself must take measures to insure its delivery.

Russian Church Reforms

By Charles R. Crane

Member of United States Commission to Russia

[Cable to The Chicago Herald, June 27, 1917, from Petrograd]

IN the revolution that is taking place, the Russian Church is making more rapid progress toward adjusting itself to the new conditions than the State. It has practically been separated from the State and is now managing its own affairs. More changes were made in the Russian Church during the month of May than had been made in two centuries before.

The process has been one of democratization. Every priest has had to have his position confirmed by a vote from the people of his parish. Twelve Bishops have been dismissed, including the Bishop of Petrograd, and new Bishops have been installed only after election by congregations. The physical property of the churches has been transferred from the State and is to be administered by the congregations, the clergy and Bishops occupying themselves solely with theological affairs.

During the last weeks two very significant sobors, or assemblies of the Church, have been taking place at Moscow. One of them was that of Old Believers, who include some 15,000,000 people and who never were reconciled to the reforms of Nikon, representing the oldest and most uncompromising division of the Russian people. The other sobor was that of the Orthodox Church, the former State Church, and was the first one to meet in some 250 years.

They were the most representative gatherings it was possible to have in Russia, and the delegates came from every corner of the empire, two priests and two laymen being elected to represent every 100 churches, the whole body numbering 1,268 delegates. As the political organization is entirely shattered, the Church represents at present the only unifying fundamental idea.

The two most effective members of this

latter sobor were the former Archbishop of the United States, Platon, and Pastor Alexanderoff of a San Francisco church. In various questions that arise in the sobor the appeal was always made to these two authorities, as to the way these problems were solved in America, and their answer was usually enough to determine the action of the sobor.

John R. Mott, the leader in Young Men's Christian Association work, was invited to address the sobor, and every member was present. His speech was interpreted, sentence by sentence, by Father Alexanderoff, who was in entire sympathy with Mr. Mott and who himself was a member of Mr. Mott's organization in San Francisco. It was a moving address and was received with great emotion.

Mr. Mott divided his address into three parts. The first was expression of gratitude for the many acts of friendship Russia had shown for America in the course of the last hundred years, with special emphasis on its enormous sacrifices during the present war, which the American people now recognize, he said, as having been made quite as much for them as for Russia. He also expressed his gratitude for the contributions the Russian Church had made to a common Christianity.

The second part of his address was the expression of solicitude lest in the great upheaval now going on the Church might lose its central position and that, although, if carefully arranged, the process of democratization ought only to strengthen the Church, the members must be very careful to guard historical Christianity, the creed, mystical Christianity, and vital Christianity.

The third part of the address was a message of hope and reassurance, and went over in detail America's plans for

aid to Russia and the other Entente Allies in the war, closing with a stirring appeal to Russia to do its best on every front.

The reception of Mr. Mott's address was very sympathetic, and unanimous, and at its end the whole body rose, and for half an hour sang the most moving of their old church hymns. This was followed by fine responses from the Chairman of the meeting, Prince Lvoff, the head of the Synod; Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy, one of the first citizens of

Russia, and Bishop Andre, the greatest spiritual force in the Russian Church today.

Immediately after the meeting Prince Lvoff, who is charged with the chief responsibility for all these things, asked Mr. Mott to spend the afternoon with the leaders and go over in detail all the various reforms. He was also invited to engage in a meeting of the professors who were revising the courses of the theological academies and also to address the synod in formal session.

All Anti-Jewish Laws Repealed

THE Russian Provisional Government issued a decree repealing absolutely all laws restricting the civil, political, and religious rights of the Jews. The text of the decree, as published in The New York Jewish Chronicle, July 13, 1917, is as follows:

All existing legal restrictions upon the rights of Russian citizens, in connection with this or that faith, religious teaching or nationality, are revoked. In accordance with this:

1. Repealed are all laws existing for Russia as a whole, as well as those of separate localities, embodying limitations concerning:

1. Selection of place of residence and change of residence or movement.

2. Acquiring rights of ownership and other material rights in all kinds of movable and immovable property, and likewise in the possession of, the use and the managing of all property, or receiving such for security.

3. Engaging in all kinds of trades, commerce and industry, not excepting mining; also equal participation in the bidding for Government contracts, deliveries and in public auctions.

4. Participation in joint stock and other commercial or industrial companies and partnerships, and also employment in these companies and partnerships in all kinds of positions, either by elections or by hiring.

5. Employment of servants, salesmen, foremen, laborers, and trade apprentices.

6. Entering the Government service, civil as well as military, and the grade or condition of such service; participation in the elections for the institutions of local self-Government, and all kinds of public

institutions; serving in all kinds of positions of Government and public establishments, as well as the prosecution of the duties connected with such positions.

7. Admission to all kinds of institutions of learning, whether private, Government or public, and the pursuing of the courses of instructions of these institutions, and receiving scholarships. Also the pursuance of teaching and the other educational professions.

8. Performing the duties of guardians, trustees, or jurors.

9. The use of languages and dialects, other than Russian, in the proceedings of private societies, or in teaching in all kinds of private educational institutions, and in commercial bookkeeping.

Paragraphs II., III., IV., V., VI., VII., and VIII. proceed to enumerate and cite section by section, paragraph by paragraph, each and every law that was in existence coming within the broad terms of the repeal enumerated. The enormous number of the citations and the minuteness of their character testify in themselves to the thoroughness in which the Jewish restrictions were carefully searched out, so as to leave not the slightest question as to the exact laws which were abolished. They also serve to bear out quite convincingly the statement which Baron Gunzburg made, that prominent Jewish lawyers were called into consultation by the Ministry of Justice in the searching for these laws and the drafting of the repealing laws.

Early in July Jewish Chaplains were sent to the front.

First American Army in France

A Memorable Welcome

THE first contingents of the first United States Army to fight in Europe arrived at a port in France on June 26 and 27, 1917.

The President's order had been issued on May 18 and the transports had departed from various Atlantic seaports in less than four weeks. Never before, it was stated, had a military expedition of such size been assembled, transported, and landed without mishap in so short a time. The only rival in magnitude was the movement of British troops to South Africa in the Boer war, and that was made without danger from submarines, mines, or other obstacles.

Although the first contingents reached their destination in safety, it was not without some thrilling moments during which disaster was an imminent possibility. Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves, who commanded the convoy squadron, reported to the Navy Department that German submarines twice attacked the transports, but were each time beaten off.

The first attack took place in the night of June 22, and was over before any one except the crews of the warships and the officers on the bridges of the transports were aware of the peril. The first sign of the presence of German submarines was a streak of shining foam noticed by a look-out man high above on one of the big ships. Almost at the moment that the alarm was given a gleaming line of bubbles, scarce twenty feet from the bow of one of the transports, announced the torpedo with its fatal burden of explosive. Then, in the words of an eyewitness:

Hell broke loose. Our (the big ship's) helm was jammed over. Firing every gun available, we swung in a wide circle out of line to the left. A smaller ship slipped into our place, and from what the lookout told me I think one of her shells must have landed almost right above the submarine. But they are almost impossible to hit when submerged, and the periscope is no target, anyway.

They fired three, if not four, torpedoes.

It was God's mercy that they all went astray among so many of our ships. One passed just astern. As you see, our helm jamming was absolutely Providential.

Naturally the old — acted quite differently from what the Boches expected; otherwise they might have got us. It was simply extraordinary. We drove right at them, (really, I suppose, the safest thing to do, as the bow gives the smallest mark to shoot at,) and it seems to have rattled Brother Boche considerably. After all, we draw enough water to smash a submarine at a level of the periscope awash, and no doubt he did not care to wait for us. Or perhaps a lucky shot disposed of him. We can't be certain either way. Anyhow, he disappeared, and we saw no more of him.

The whole business lasted only about a minute and a half. But, believe me, it added more than that to my life. While the thing was happening I had no time for anything but to attend to my job. Afterward I found myself sweating and my breast heaving as if I had run five miles. The other boys told me the same thing, but we got a compliment on the rapidity with which the guns were served, so I guess it didn't interfere any with our action.

The second attack occurred the next morning. No periscope was visible this time, but the unmistakable bubble line, clean across the bows, put the certainty of danger beyond question. The submarine was in front instead of in the deadliest position on the flank toward the rear. Like a striking rattlesnake, one of the American destroyers darted between a couple of the transports. As it flashed at nearly forty miles an hour across the spot where the submarine was supposed to be hidden the commander of the destroyer gave orders. A column of smoke and foam rose a hundred feet in the air, and in the waterspout that followed it the soldiers on the nearest transport, (she had swung in a headlong curve to the left,) distinguished clearly pieces of wood and steel and some dark blue fragments that a moment before had been living men. Any uncertainty was impossible. Transport after transport passed through floating oil, patched with wreck-

age. This submarine, at least, had timed its hour too well.

Soldiers Welcomed in France

The arrival in France of the first United States troops, which were under the command of Major General William L. Sibert, was the occasion of a magnificent welcome by the French people. The transports, whose arrival had not been previously announced, steamed into the harbor of the seaport [the name was suppressed by the censor] at an early hour on the morning of June 26. The news that the Americans were arriving spread with amazing rapidity, and by the time the troopships drew alongside the quays where the men were to debark thousands of persons were on hand to greet them. A wild welcome was shrieked by whistles of craft in the harbor, and cries of "Vive la France!" and "Vivent les Etats Unis!" seemed to come from every throat in the crowd, which was thickly dotted with the varicolored uniforms of French soldiers and sailors. Meanwhile the bands on the warships were playing "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillaise" as the American colors were hoisted to their staffs. The town soon took on a holiday appearance, and, before the day was over, scores of American flags were flying along with the Tricolor of France over public buildings and private homes.

The American soldiers were spontaneously dubbed "Sammies" by the excited French crowds, to distinguish them from the British "Tommies."

Delegations of American Army officers from Paris and American naval men from elsewhere were present, with French military men of high rank, and a similar representation from the French Navy to receive the new fighting forces of the Allies, who were soon after transferred to a camp not far distant from the port where they arrived. General Sibert took up his quarters at the camp as commander of the first United States force sent abroad, under General Pershing as Commander in Chief.

The last units of the expedition, comprising vessels loaded with supplies and horses, reached port on July 2. Their coming, one week after the first troops

landed, was greeted almost as warmly as the arrival of the troops themselves, because it meant complete success of the undertaking.

Probably the happiest man in port was Rear Admiral Gleaves. From the bridge of his flagship he watched the successful conclusion of his plans and with characteristic modesty insisted upon bestowing the lion's share of credit for the crossing on the navigation officers of his command. All units of the contingent had to keep a daily rendezvous with accompanying warships. Thanks to his navigation officers and despite overcast skies which made astronomical observations impossible, each rendezvous, the Admiral said, had been minutely and accurately kept by each unit. This exactness on the part of the navigation officers was responsible in no small degree for the brilliant success of the entire undertaking.

Two Statements by Pershing

General Pershing, accompanied by General Pelletier, representing French General Headquarters, visited the camp on June 28, and after inspecting the troops made the following statement:

This is the happiest of the busy days which I have spent in France preparing for the arrival of the first contingent. Today I have seen our troops safe on French soil, landing from transports that were guarded in their passage overseas by the resourceful vigilance of our navy.

Now our task as soldiers lies before us. We hope, with the aid of the French leaders and experts who have placed all the results of their experience at our disposal, to make our force worthy in skill and in the determination to fight side by side in arms with the French Army.

On returning to his headquarters in Paris on June 30, General Pershing made a further statement:

The landing of the first American troops has been a complete success. In this remarkable transfer of a large force across the ocean (one of the largest operations we have ever undertaken) not a man or an animal was lost or injured, and there was not a single case of serious sickness—nothing but a few unimportant cases of mumps. The men landed in splendid morale, with keen, confident, and eager spirit.

The physical appearance of our men is truly inspiring. They are all fine, husky young fellows, with the glow of energy,

good health, and physical vigor which will make them a credit alongside any troops.

They are exceptionally well camped and cared for, with substantial wooden barracks, good beds, good food, and the best sanitary arrangements. They are located on high ground. For all of this we are deeply indebted to French co-operation with members of my staff.

How Order was Maintained

The question of maintaining order in the town where the camp was situated was settled by the French authorities transferring to the United States military police the necessary authority for maintaining discipline in the town, which now became overwhelmingly American in appearance and public life. In order to assist the Americans to keep order, however, the authorities issued new and stringent regulations forbidding the sale of spirituous liquors to any men in uniform, regulating the hours the men might be admitted to or served in cafés and restaurants, and specifying that disputes and disorders should be referred to and decided by the Americans.

The necessity of good behavior was set forth by General Pershing in the following general order:

For the first time in history an American Army finds itself in European territory. The good name of the United States of America and the maintenance of cordial relations require the perfect deportment of each member of this command.

It is of the gravest importance that the soldiers of the American Army shall at all times treat the French people, and especially the women, with the greatest courtesy and consideration. The valiant deeds of the French armies and the Allies, by which they together have successfully maintained the common cause for three years, and the sacrifices of the civil population of France in support of their armies, command our profound respect. This can best be expressed on the part of our forces by uniform courtesies to all the French people and by the faithful observance of their laws and customs.

The intense cultivation of the soil in France, under conditions caused by the war, makes it necessary that extreme care be taken to do no damage to private property. The entire French manhood capable of bearing arms is in the field fighting the enemy, and it should, therefore, be a point of honor to each member of the American Army to avoid doing the least damage to any property in France. Such conduct is much more reprehensible

here. Honor them as those of our own country.

Fourth of July in France

General Pétain, Commander in Chief of the French armies operating on the French front, on July 3 issued the following general order:

Tomorrow, the Independence Day celebration of the United States, the first American troops which have debarked in France will defile in Paris. Later they will join us on the front. Let us salute these new companions in arms who without thought of gain or of conquest, but with the simple desire of defending the cause of right and liberty, have come to take their places in the ranks beside us.

Others are preparing to follow them. They will soon be on our soil. The United States mean to put at our disposition, without reckoning, their soldiers, their factories, their vessels, and their entire country. They want to pay a hundred-fold the debt of gratitude which they owe to Lafayette and his companions.

From all the points of the front a single shout on this July 4 will be heard: "Honor to the great sister. Long live the United States!"

The Fourth of July was enthusiastically celebrated throughout France. In Paris the chief feature of interest was the presence of a battalion of United States troops which was about to leave for training behind the battle front. Everywhere the Stars and Stripes were flying from public buildings, hotels, and residences, and from automobiles, cabs, and carts; horses' bridles and the lapels of pedestrians carried them. The crowds began to gather early at vantage points. The Rue de Varenne was choked long before 8 o'clock in the morning, when the Republican Guard Band executed a field reveille under General Pershing's windows, and all routes toward the Invalides were thronged even before Pershing's men turned out.

In the chapel before the Tomb of Napoleon General Pershing received American flags and banners from the hands of President Poincaré. The enthusiasm of the vast crowd reached its highest pitch when General Pershing, escorted by President Poincaré, Marshal Joffre, and other high French dignitaries passed along reviewing the lines of the Americans drawn up in square formations. Cheering broke out anew when the Amer-

ican band struck up the "Marseillaise," and again when the French band played "The Star-Spangled Banner," and Pershing received the flags from the President. "Vivent les Américains! Vive Pershing! Vivent les Etats Unis!" shouted over and over by the crowd, greeted the American standard bearers.

Crowds in Tuileries Gardens

More people were massed in the Tuileries Gardens than on the Esplanade des Invalides. Few of them could get a glimpse of the parade, but all joined in a tremendous outburst of cheering when music from the Republican Guard Band announced the approach of the troops, and the cheering did not diminish in volume until the last man in the line had disappeared from view of the gardens down the Rue de Rivoli.

With this great demonstration the ceremonies of welcome came to an end and the serious business of warfare was taken in hand. On July 6 it was announced that the training bases for the American troops in France had been established and were ready for occupancy. They included aviation, artillery, infantry, and medical bases. The section of the battle front eventually to be occupied by the Americans was decided upon by the military authorities and approved by Major Gen. Pershing, who had thoroughly covered the ground. The location of this section was a military secret, and no actual time was fixed for American participation on the fighting front. The battalion of United States soldiers that took part in the Independence Day celebration in Paris immediately began

training at its permanent camp, over which General Sibert was placed in command.

Bastille Day Messages

Messages of mutual good-will were exchanged by President Wilson and President Poincaré on the French national holiday, July 14. President Wilson cabled:

On this anniversary of the birth of democracy in France, I offer on behalf of my countrymen, and on my own behalf, fraternal greeting as befits the strong ties that unite our peoples who today stand shoulder to shoulder in defense of liberty, in testimony of the steadfast purpose of our two countries to achieve victory for the sublime cause of the rights of the people against oppression.

The lesson of the Bastille is not lost to the world of free peoples. May the day be near when on the ruins of the dark stronghold of unbridled power and conscienceless autocracy a nobler structure, upbuilt like our great Republic on the eternal foundations of peace and right, shall arise to gladden an enfranchised world.

President Poincaré replied:

The French people who for three years have made so many heroic sacrifices in the defense of right and liberty shall receive in grateful emotion the brotherly message which you, Mr. President, were pleased to send me for them.

We shall be proud to carry on to victory, elbow to elbow with the great and generous American Nation, the war which was let loose on the world by the imperialism of our foes, in spite of the strenuous efforts which the French Republic always exerted to avert so awful a cataclysm. I, like you, have no doubt that the defeat of autocracy and German militarism will at last open a future of industrious peace and prosperity to liberate mankind.

Creating the New American Armies

THE month's progress in building up the new armies of the United States has been rather in the nature of laying solid foundations for the future than in actual results. Recruiting to bring the regular army up to its full strength of 293,000 continues slow, despite the special effort of the President to obtain 70,000 recruits in the period between June 23 and June 30, which he designated as Re-

cruiting Week. The call was for unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 40 years. At the end of the week over 50,000 men were still needed. On July 16 the deficiency had been reduced to just under 37,000 men. Three-fourths of the States had not yet filled their quotas.

Nevertheless, it has to be remembered that, when the United States entered the war, the strength of the regular army

was only 100,000, and in about three months this has been increased to nearly 250,000 by purely voluntary methods and in competition with the recruiters of the National Guard, the navy, and the marines. Thus, by the middle of July, 1917, nearly half a million men had volunteered for service in one or other of the different branches of the army and navy, while men had been obtained for various special units, and many candidates for officers' commissions were in training.

Mobilizing the National Guard

An important step to increase the strength of the army was the calling into Federal service of the National Guard regiments not already in service. This was done in three increments, one third being mobilized on July 15 and the other two thirds being warned to be ready on July 25 and Aug. 5. It was stated that after preliminary training the National Guard would soon be sent to France and that some regiments would leave the United States as early as November. At the date of mobilization the National Guard had reached a strength of about 300,000 men, and, as the war strength had been fixed at 400,000, recruiting continued. It was the intention of the War Department that if the full quota were not secured before the draft began, the vacancies in the National Guard, as in the regular army, would be filled by conscripted men. The only members of the National Guard who were not called up were officers holding general rank, as some of these appointments had been made on political grounds.

In addition to the sixteen cantonments which were begun for the new National Army, sixteen other camps were chosen for the training of the National Guard. The sites for practically all these camps were chosen in Southern States because, as Major Gen. Gorgas, Surgeon General of the Army, explained, the climate was milder in the Winter and rain less frequent. The accommodation was planned for about 35,000 men and 10,000 horses and mules in each camp.

Army Training Camps

The following are the locations of can-

tonments for the training of the nation's new armies:

NATIONAL ARMY

Inf'y Div. No.	Department.	Location.
1.....	Northeastern	Ayer, Mass.
2.....	Eastern.....	Yapahank, Long Island
3.....	do.....	Wrightstown, N. J.
4.....	do.....	Annapolis Junction, Md.
5.....	do.....	Petersburg, Va.
6.....	Southeastern	Columbia, S. C.
7.....	do.....	Atlanta, Ga.
8.....	Central.....	Chillicothe, Ohio.
9.....	do.....	Louisville, Ky.
10.....	do.....	Battle Creek, Mich.
11.....	do.....	Rockford, Ill.
12.....	Southeastern	Little Rock, Ark.
13.....	Central.....	Des Moines, Iowa.
14.....	do.....	Fort Riley, Kan.
15.....	Southern.....	Fort Sam Houston, Tex.
16.....	Western.....	American Lake, Wash.

NATIONAL GUARD

Inf'y Div. No.	Department.	Location.
5.....	Southeastern	Greenville, S. C.
6.....	do.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
7.....	do.....	Augusta, Ga.
8.....	do.....	Macon, Ga.
9.....	do.....	Montgomery, Ala.
10.....	do.....	Anniston, Ala.
11.....	Southern.....	Fort Worth, Tex.
12.....	do.....	Fort Sill, Okla.
13.....	do.....	Deming, N. M.
14.....	do.....	Waco, Tex.
15.....	do.....	Houston, Tex.
16.....	Southeastern	Charlotte, N. C.
17.....	do.....	Hattiesburg, Miss.
18.....	do.....	Alexandria, La.
19.....	Western.....	Linda Vista, Cal.
20.....	do.....	Palo Alto, Cal.

Navy Training Camps

Sites for naval training camps were selected as follows:

Philadelphia, for 5,000 men.
 Newport, R. I., for 6,000 men.
 Cape May, N. J., for 2,000 men.
 Charleston, S. C., for 5,000 men.
 Pensacola, Fla., for 1,000 additional men.
 Key West, Fla., for 500 men.
 Mare Island, Cal., for 5,000 men.
 Puget Sound, Wash., for 5,000 men.
 Hingham, Mass., for 500 men.
 New Orleans, La., for 500 men.
 San Diego, Cal., for 2,500 men.
 Great Lakes Training Station, Chicago, accommodations for 15,000 additional recruits.
 Port Royal, S. C., 5,000 men of the Marine Corps; also a Marine Corps Camp at Quantico, Va., for 8,000 men.
 Hampton Roads naval operating base, 10,000 men.
 Mississippi Exposition Grounds, Gulfport, Miss., 3,500 men.
 New York, a camp for 3,000 regulars adjoining the navy yard; Pelham, N. Y., 5,000 reserves.
 A camp will also be located at Boston.

An indication of the merging of the National Guard with the other military forces of the United States was furnished by the War Department statement that regiments were henceforth to be num-

bered without reference to the fact that a particular regiment belonged to the Regular Army, National Guard, or National Army. The numbers of the National Army regiments begin where those of the National Guard regiments end, but locality is indicated in parentheses.

Rapid Training of Officers

The training of officers has been more rapidly conducted than that of the men, because without qualified leaders the new armies cannot be organized. The President has signed the commissions of several hundred new officers of the Army Reserve Corps, and, according to an announcement from General Pershing's

headquarters in Paris, these officers are to see service in France much earlier than was anticipated. In this way the demand for regular officers to train the men in France is being met. Every trainee in the Officers' Training Corps is assured of a commission if he can qualify. The officers' training camps are at Fort Myer, Virginia, (two camps,) Fort McPherson, Georgia, (two camps,) Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, (two camps,) Fort Benjamin, Indiana, (three camps,) Fort Logan H. Roots, Arkansas, (two camps,) Leon Springs, Texas, (two camps,) Fort Riley, Kansas, (two camps,) and Presidio, San Francisco, (one camp.)

Selecting the Conscript Army

SETTING up exemption boards and arranging for the drawing of lots to decide who shall serve in the first conscript army have been the principal developments in the operation of the selective draft law during the month.

The total registration was 9,659,382, or 95.9 per cent. of the preliminary estimate. The apparent shortage, about 413,000, is considerably less than the number of men 21 to 30 years of age, inclusive, who are estimated by the War Department to have been in the various branches of the military and naval services of the United States on June 5, and for that reason exempt from the requirement of registration. This number is 600,000. On the face of these figures, therefore, it appears that the number of men between the ages of 21 and 31 in the United States is slightly in excess of the number estimated by the Census Bureau on May 12—10,079,000.

Of the 9,659,382 registrants reported, 7,347,794 are white; 953,899 are colored; 1,239,865 are unnaturalized foreigners from countries other than Germany; 111,823 are unnaturalized Germans, including "declarants"; that is, persons having declared their intention to become citizens but not having received their final naturalization papers; and 6,001 are Indians.

There is nothing in the returns to indi-

cate that there has been any general attempt at evasion of registration by any important element of the population.

The following table shows, by States, the total registration, the number of unnaturalized Germans, including those who have declared their intention to become citizens, and the percentage which the total represents of the census estimate:

	Total Registra- tion.	Per Cent. of Esti- mate.	Unnat- uralized Ger- mans.
United States.....	9,659,382	95.9	111,823
Alabama	179,828	85.7	89
Arizona	36,932	106.4	193
Arkansas	147,522	94.2	98
California	297,532	82.2	3,948
Colorado	83,038	75.8	372
Connecticut	159,761	129.3	1,126
Delaware	21,864	108.8	92
District of Columbia	32,327	87.1	79
Florida	84,683	88.9	208
Georgia	231,418	90.6	120
Idaho	41,150	79.4	181
Illinois	672,498	105.2	6,051
Indiana	255,145	100.6	1,149
Iowa	216,594	108.8	1,862
Kansas	150,029	85.3	736
Kentucky	187,573	92.8
Louisiana	157,827	92.3	216
Maine	69,176	95.5	120
Maryland	129,458	99.1	912
Massachusetts	359,323	101.1	1,508
Michigan	372,872	129.4	3,021
Minnesota	221,715	90.6	1,971
Mississippi	139,525	79.7	45
Missouri	299,625	94.9	1,008
Montana	88,273	120.4	687
Nebraska	118,123	91.3	1,156
Nevada	11,821	71.6	87

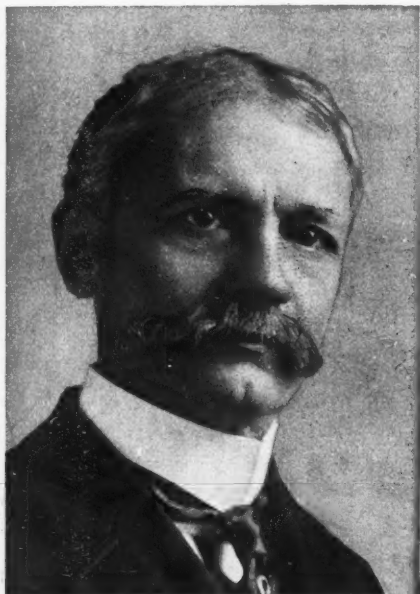
COLONEL CHARLES A. DOYEN



Commander of the First Division of the United States Army
Sent Abroad to Serve Under the Commander in Chief,
General Pershing.

(Photo © Clinedinst from Underwood & Underwood.)

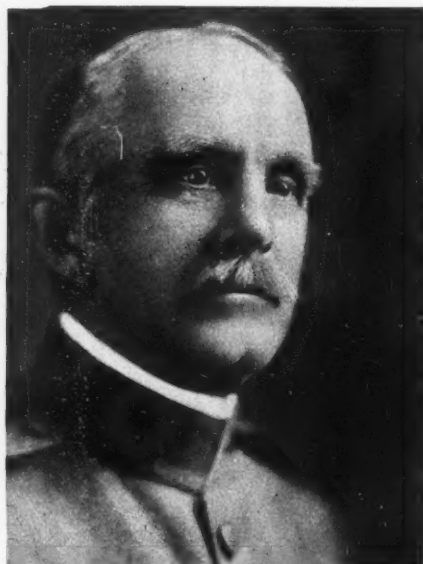
SOME OF AMERICA'S WAR CHIEFS



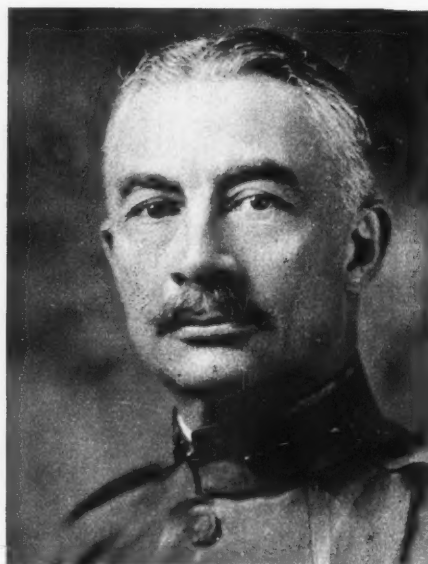
GEN. WILLIAM CROZIER
Chief of Ordnance of the Army
(Photo Harris & Ewing)



ADMIRAL W. S. BENSON
Chief of Office of Naval
Operations.



COL. ISAAC W. LITTELL
Chief of Cantonment Con-
struction.
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)



GEN. JOSEPH E. KUHN
President of the Army War
College at Washington.
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

	Total Registration.	Per Cent. of Esti- mate.	Unnat- uralized Ger- mans.
New Hampshire.....	37,642	102.3	79
New Jersey.....	302,742	100.8	4,952
New Mexico.....	32,202	77.6	108
New York.....	1,054,302	99.4	30,870
North Carolina.....	200,032	102.9	73
North Dakota.....	65,007	73.0	615
Ohio.....	565,384	114.4	6,189
Oklahoma.....	169,211	79.3	219
Oregon.....	62,618	57.9	577
Pennsylvania.....	830,507	95.0	12,674
Rhode Island.....	53,415	88.7	126
South Carolina.....	128,039	93.4	28
South Dakota.....	58,014	72.1	484
Tennessee.....	187,611	96.2	85
Texas.....	408,702	97.3	1,834
Utah.....	41,952	90.8	344
Vermont.....	27,658	94.1	72
Virginia.....	181,826	97.5	179
Washington.....	108,330	49.8	791
West Virginia.....	127,409	90.0	1,003
Wisconsin.....	240,170	104.6	23,121
Wyoming.....	22,848	64.5	329
National parks.....	85	2
Indians.....	6,001

The rules and regulations for the draft were issued to the local exemption boards by the War Department on June 21. Every board was required to make four copies of the registration list. One it kept for its own use, the second was posted in a conspicuous public place, the third was made available to the public press, and the fourth was sent to the Provost Marshal General at Washington.

Every board numbered the cards in its jurisdiction with red ink in a series running from 1 to the number representing the total number of cards in its jurisdic-

tion, and it was provided that these serial numbers, not the names, should be drawn. Alphabetical arrangement of the names was expressly prohibited. The numbers were to be drawn at Washington. If 15 and 167 were drawn, for example, the two men in each registration district against whose names these numbers were written would be thereby automatically drafted. Exemption could be claimed only afterward—through the local board.

President Wilson on July 2 promulgated the regulations governing exemption from military service. These regulations permitted the local and appeal exemption boards already appointed to organize at once and prepare for the concluding stages of raising the draft army. In an accompanying statement the President called upon the boards to do their work fearlessly and impartially and to remember that "our armies at the front will be strengthened and sustained if they be composed of men free from any sense of injustice in their mode of selection." A statement issued by the War Department on July 13 set forth the number to be drafted from each State. The total for the first call was to be 687,000.

On July 20 all the numbered registration lists from the 4,550 districts had reached Washington, and the fateful drawing of numbers took place on that day. The story of the historic event will be told in the September issue of this magazine.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 20, 1917]

THE CHANCELLORS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

COUNT BISMARCK was the first Chancellor of the German Empire, being appointed on Jan. 18, 1871, the day on which King William of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany, in the Mirror Room at Versailles. Bismarck was then raised to princely rank. He held office until March 20, 1890, less than two years after William II. became Emperor, on the death of his father, (June 15, 1888.) During his tenure of

office Prince Bismarck accomplished two things: the Triple Alliance or Dreibund, uniting Germany, Austria, and Italy, and later including Rumania and Bulgaria; and the formation of Germany's colonial empire, in 1885, in East and West Africa and New Guinea.

Bismarck was succeeded by Count Caprivi, who held office until Oct. 29, 1894. Caprivi was succeeded by Prince Hohenlohe, who gave place, on Oct. 17, 1900, to Count Bernhard von Bülow, then raised to princely rank. Prince von

Bülow was called upon to defend Kaiser Wilhelm's celebrated "mailed fist" speech on the departure of German troops to China, and, some years later, to extricate the Kaiser from the very difficult situation caused by an interview which he gave to *The Daily Telegraph*, (Oct. 28, 1908,) he carried the point that the Kaiser's pronouncements must first be approved by his responsible advisers. Prince von Bülow went out of office on July 14, 1909, being succeeded by Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, who held office for exactly eight years.

Primarily, the Chancellor of the Empire is the head of the Bundesrat, the Federal Council, which represents, not the peoples of the various States which make up the empire, but the Kings, (of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg,) Grand Dukes, Dukes, and Princes who rule them. In the Bundesrat the Imperial Chancellor represents the King of Prussia, who has preponderant power in that body. The Chancellor is responsible solely to the Emperor. It has been pointed out that Dr. Georg Michaelis is the first man not of noble birth to be appointed Imperial Chancellor.

* * *

AUSTRIA, BAVARIA, AND CATHOLIC SOUTH GERMANY

THE recent vigorous protest of Matthias Erzberger, the Catholic member of the Reichstag from Bavaria, against the autocratic militarism and annexationist policy of Lutheran Prussia, apparently with the knowledge, and perhaps the active consent, of Emperor Charles of Austria, suggests that one of the results of the war may be a regrouping of the kingdoms and principalities within the frontiers of the Central Empires in a way resembling their position before 1860, when Bismarck began to execute his plan to break the Austrian supremacy in German affairs and to put Prussia in Austria's place as the dominant German State, a plan furthered by the aggressive wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870, and consummated when William I. was proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles in January, 1871.

In the German Empire the Lutherans number 40,000,000; the Catholics 24,000,-

000, or some 37 per cent. In Prussia about two-thirds are Lutherans; in Saxony the vast majority are Lutherans; in Württemberg about two-thirds are Lutherans; these three kingdoms would form the nucleus of a Lutheran group of States. In Bavaria, on the contrary, there are about 5,000,000 Catholics to 2,000,000 Lutherans, while within the Kingdom of Prussia Catholics are in a majority in Posen, Silesia, Westphalia, and the Rhine Provinces. Austria is almost completely Catholic, having 22,500,000 Roman Catholics and 3,500,000 Greek Catholics; the Lutherans do not number 600,000. In Hungary, Roman Catholics likewise predominate, numbering 11,000,000 in a population of 21,000,000, the minority being divided between Protestants, members of the Greek churches, (Catholic and Oriental,) and others.

This would give two groups of States, the Catholic, with a population of some 60,000,000; the Lutheran, with a population of some 45,000,000. The growth of the present German Empire has largely consisted in the extension of the power of Lutheran Prussia over the Roman Catholic States, like Silesia, the Rhine Provinces, and Bavaria; to these Austria, in which Prussian influence predominates, may be added.

* * *

THE RACE QUESTION IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

IN Austria (excluding Hungary) the division of races, calculated on the not wholly accurate basis of language, is approximately as follows: Germans, 10,000,000; Bohemian Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks, (all speaking practically the same language,) 6,500,000; Poles, 5,000,000; Ruthenians in Galicia and Bukowina, 3,500,000; Slovenes, Serbs, and Croatians, (all speaking what is practically Serbian,) 2,000,000; or, in all, 17,000,000 Slavs. There are also about 1,000,000 speaking Italian or Rumanian. Thus 18,000,000 non-Germans, nearly all of whom are Slavs, are dominated politically by 10,000,000 Germans.

In Hungary there are under 9,000,000 Hungarian Magyars; just over 2,000,000

Germans, 2,000,000 Slovaks, 2,600,000 Croato-Serbiens, 400,000 Ruthenians, and something under 3,000,000 Rumanians. In Hungary the 9,000,000 Magyars and 2,000,000 Germans completely dominate the 5,000,000 Slavs and 3,000,000 Rumanians.

Taking the Dual Monarchy as a whole, we find that 12,000,000 Germans and 9,000,000 Magyars exercise political control over 22,000,000 Slavs and 4,000,000 Latins. That is, 21,000,000 dominating and 26,000,000 dominated.

An ideal reconstruction along the lines of race, (or, to speak more strictly, along the lines of language as calculated by the German-Magyar enumerators,) would divide the Dual Monarchy into four States, as follows: A German State, consisting of the northern part of what is now Austria and the western corner of Hungary, with 12,000,000 inhabitants; a north Slav State, (Czech-Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians,) with about 18,000,000 inhabitants; a Magyar State with about 9,000,000, and a south Slav State, predominantly Serbian, with about 5,000,000; but this last would be practically identical in blood and speech with Serbia and Montenegro, which, before the war, had a combined population of about 3,500,000; so that we have the basis of a Pan-Serbian State with about 8,500,000 inhabitants.

* * *

THE DRAFT IN 1863 AND 1917

THE extraordinary smoothness and freedom from disturbance which have marked each stage of the enrollment of our huge national army stand out in sharp contrast with the violent outbreaks which accompanied the operation of the Conscription act signed on March 3, 1863. That act declared that all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and foreigners intending to become citizens, between the ages of 20 and 45 were liable for military service; a second section defined exemptions, while a third favored married men. On July 7 the actual work of the draft was begun in Rhode Island; on the following day it began in Massachusetts.

Saturday, July 11, was the date set for New York City. That day everything

went quietly, even gayly. But on Sunday, July 12, there were mutterings in the Ninth Congressional District, which was inhabited mainly by laborers, and which had a Democratic majority of over 3,000. These laborers, says Rhodes, when they faced the fact of three years' compulsory military service, "fell into despondency, while their wives and mothers abandoned themselves to excitement and rage." Prominent Democrats went about declaring the law was unconstitutional. A point of inflammation was the fact that a man might "buy himself loose" for \$300, favoring the rich at the expense of the poor.

On July 13, at the headquarters of the Ninth District, at the corner of Third Avenue and Forty-sixth Street, where the names were being drawn from a revolving wheel by a blindfolded man, pistols were fired, brickbats were hurled through the window, the crowd burst in, poured petroleum on the floor and set the building on fire. Workmen of the Second and Sixth Avenue street railroads noisily paraded the streets. The rioters were "almost all foreign born, with a large preponderance of Irish," who vented their wrath on the negroes, shooting and hanging them by the score and wrecking a Negro Orphan Asylum on Fifth Avenue between Forty-third and Forty-fourth Streets. The rioters seized arms from the arsenals; troops were called; "cannon and howitzers raked the streets."

The battle raged during four days, more than 1,000 persons being killed and wounded, while damage amounting to \$1,500,000 was done. In all, 10,000 infantry and three batteries of artillery assisted in quelling the riots. There was violence also in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

* * *

THE Secretary of War reported on June 22, 1917, that there were in the United States 1,239,179 persons born in foreign countries with which the United States was not at war, who had not declared their intention to become citizens, and 111,933 persons of birth in countries with which the United States was at war, who had not declared their intention to become citizens.

SUCCESS OF THE LIBERTY LOAN

THE official announcement of the Liberty Loan, the first United States war loan, was in substance as follows:

The total of the subscriptions was \$3,035,226,850, an oversubscription of \$1,035,226,850, over 50 per cent. More than 4,000,000 men and women subscribed. Of this number about 3,960,000 took the bonds in amounts ranging from \$50 to \$10,000; 21 subscriptions were \$5,000,000 and over, aggregating \$188,789,900. The subscriptions by Federal Reserve districts were as follows:

Boston	\$332,447,600
New York	1,186,788,400
Philadelphia	232,309,250
Cleveland	286,148,700
Richmond	109,737,100
Atlanta	57,878,550
Chicago	357,195,950
St. Louis	86,134,700
Minneapolis	70,255,500
Kansas City	91,758,850
Dallas	48,948,350
San Francisco	175,623,900

Allotments were made as follows: Subscriptions up to and including \$10,000, 100 per cent.; up to \$100,000, 60 per cent.; up to \$250,000, 45 per cent.; up to \$2,000,000, 30 per cent.; over \$2,000,000 and up to \$6,000,000, 25 per cent.; up to \$10,000,000, 21 per cent.; \$25,000,000, 22.22 per cent.; \$25,230,000, 20.17 per cent.

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BRITISH CABINET CHANGES

IMPORTANT changes in the British Cabinet were announced July 17. Sir Edward Carson resigned as First Lord of the Admiralty and joined the War Cabinet without portfolio; he was succeeded by Sir Eric Campbell Geddes, former Director General of Munitions Supply. Winston Spencer Churchill succeeded Dr. Christopher Addison as Minister of Munitions, the latter to become Minister without portfolio in charge of reconstruction. Edwin Samuel Montagu became Secretary for India, vice Austen Chamberlain, who resigned on account of the Mesopotamia campaign disaster. Sir Edward Carson replaced Bonar Law as the fifth member of the War Cabinet, which consists of Premier Lloyd George, Labor Minister Henderson, Earl Curzon, Lord Milner, and Sir Edward Carson, the

three latter being Conservatives of the most extreme type.

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BRITISH ROYAL HOUSE ABOLISHES ITS GERMAN TITLES

KING GEORGE of England has changed the name of his family and house from Saxe-Coburg and Gotha to the House of Windsor. He has also abolished the titles of the Princes of his family that bear German names and substituted British surnames, peerages being conferred as follows:

The Duke of Teck, a Marquis.
Prince Alexander of Teck, an Earl.
Prince Louis of Battenberg, a Marquis.
Prince Alexander of Battenberg, a Marquis.

Princess Victoria and Princess Marie Louise of Schleswig-Holstein shall be styled Helena Victoria and Marie Louise, respectively, and the Princesses of the royal family who bear the title of Duchess of Saxony have relinquished the title. Prince Leopold of Battenberg, whose elder brother, Prince Alexander, becomes a Marquis, will take the title of Lord Leopold of Mountbatten.

The action of the King reserves the title "Royal Highnesses" to the children and grandchildren of the sovereign, consequently the titles "Highness" and "Serene Highness" will disappear from English life, as well as the rank of Prince and Princess in the families upon which the King conferred peerages.

* * *

ENGLAND'S MUNITIONS OUTPUT

DR. ADDISON, British Minister of Munitions, declared in an address to the House of Commons, that in March, 1917, England's capacity for the production of high explosives was more than four times that of 1916 and 28 times as great as that of March, 1915. He said the country was now turning out twenty times as many machine guns as two years ago. In the matter of small arms and small ammunition the country was entirely independent of outside supplies. At Woolwich there were 73,571 workers, of whom 25,000 were women, as against 10,860 workers in August, 1914, of whom 125 were women.

In May twice as many airplanes were produced as in December last. They were

producing now 10,000,000 tons of steel per annum as against 7,000,000 tons per annum in pre-war days, and by the end of 1918 the figures would have risen to 12,000,000 tons.

He announced that a plant was now available for supplying the entire quantity needed of potash; they had also a plant to supply their needs entirely in scientific instruments, optical glass, machine tools, sulphuric acid, superphosphates, and tungsten, for all of which they had been dependent on outside sources. Fully 2,000 miles of railway track had been supplied to the several fronts, together with nearly 1,000 locomotives, apart from hundreds supplied by the Railway Executive Committee. India, Australia, and Canada had sent their contributions.

* * *

KNIGHTLY ORDERS FOR WOMEN

RECENT distinctions conferred upon women have suggested the question whether, in the past, the services and qualities of women have ever received recognition in the great knightly orders. The answer is distinctly in the affirmative. England, which has, in some ways, the most democratic government in the world, not only possesses the oldest existing knightly order, but is also the only country in existence where the ancient knightly custom of "dubbing" by the accolade, or laying on of the sword, is still preserved, as in the days when knighthood was in flower. The oldest knightly order is the Order of the Garter, which dates from about 1350; the "garter" is ascribed by tradition to Richard I., who sent it as a battle sign to the troops before Acre; to Edward III. at Crécy; to Joan, the "fair maid of Kent," Countess of Salisbury. Ladies were systematically admitted to the Order of the Garter in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, (at a time when prioresses and abbesses had the vote;) the Queen Consort, the wives and daughters of Knights of the Order, and other women of exalted position being members, and known as "Dames de la Fraternité de Saint George," patron saint of the Garter. Entries of the delivery of robes and garters to ladies are

found in the wardrobe accounts from 1376 to 1495, the first being to Isabel, Countess of Bedford, daughter of Edward III.; the last, Margaret and Elizabeth, daughters of Henry VII. Effigies of Margaret Byron and Alice Chaucer at Ewelme have garters on their left arms. The Order of the Thistle, established by James II. in 1687, under the patronage of St. Andrew, counts among its heads Queen Anne and Queen Victoria, who were also heads of the Order of the Garter, as were Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. This is the order recently conferred on Sir Douglas Haig. The Order of the Golden Fleece, established by Philip the Good in 1492, counts Queens among its members. The Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, founded by Maria Theresa in 1764, was presided over by her. The British Order of Merit was conferred on Florence Nightingale. Women as well as men are eligible to the Imperial Service Order. The Royal Order of Victoria and Albert and the Imperial Order of the Crown of India are conferred only on women. The decoration of the French Legion of Honor, founded by Napoleon on May 19, 1802, has been conferred on several distinguished women, including Rosa Bonheur and Mme. Curie, the discoverer of radium.

* * *

BRITISH AND GERMAN PRISONERS

THE British have captured 117,776 prisoners since the beginning of the war, not counting natives taken in the African campaigns, many of whom have been released, according to the statement of Major Gen. F. B. Maurice, Director of Military Operations at the War Office in London. The British have lost to the enemy 51,088 men as prisoners, including Indian and native troops

The British have captured 739 guns during the war and lost 113. Of the guns lost 37 were recaptured, and of the 96 remaining in enemy hands 84 were lost by the British on the west front early in the war. The British have not lost a single gun on the west front since April, 1915.

There are 58,138 German prisoners of

war interned in England, as against 42,831 British prisoners of war or interned prisoners in Germany, according to a report made by the Postmaster General to the House of Commons on June 20. Each week the interned Germans receive an average of 9,260 parcels and money orders having a total value of \$12,000. The number of parcels received has decreased nearly one-half from last year. This was attributed by the Postmaster General to greater difficulty in obtaining materials to send from Germany.

* * *

GERMAN CASUALTY FIGURES

GERMAN casualties reported in German official lists during May, 1917, were as follows:

	May.	Total to date.
Killed and died of wounds..	19,006	998,439
Died of sickness.....	2,994	69,688
Prisoners	886	303,309
Missing	25,676	254,101
Severely wounded.....	14,348	571,386
Wounded	3,858	310,616
Slightly wounded.....	36,133	1,599,743
Wounded remaining with units.	8,055	249,478
Total	110,956	4,356,760

* * *

SMALL ARMIES IN DECISIVE BATTLES

THE attempt of a Chinese General to restore the fallen Manchu dynasty, which conquered China in 1644, having at his disposal only 7,000 troops with which he tried to change the destinies of 400,000,000 population covering 4,000,000 square miles, recalls the fact that many of the world's decisive battles have been fought with bodies of troops which, in comparison with the numbers involved in the present war, seem absolutely insignificant. But it should be remembered that only the very recent development of railroads has made possible the moving and victualing of the huge modern armies.

On the morning of the battle of Lexington 130 answered Captain John Parker's rollcall, and not all of these took part in the fighting; at Concord, later in the same day, April 19, 1775, there were 450 minutemen; men, that is, who "answered at a minute's notice." The Americans under Lieut. Col. Smith

lost eighteen killed. At the battle of Long Island, Aug. 22, 1776, Lord Howe had 20,000 men, while Washington sent to General Putnam only 7,000 men, who, however, constituted more than one-third of his entire effective force. At the battle of Harlem Heights, Sept. 16, 1776, Lord Howe had 5,000 against Washington's 1,800 Americans, and the relative numbers were about the same at Bennington, Stony Point, and King's Mountain. At the battle of Princeton, Jan. 3, 1777, Lord Cornwallis had 6,000, while Washington had 3,600 men; yet this battle held Howe up for six months and laid the foundation of the French alliance. At Yorktown, Washington had 16,600 American and French troops, while Cornwallis had 5,316.

A recent historian asserts that there were not more than 5,000 knights in the feudal army of William the Conqueror, though older traditions placed the number at 60,000. John Fiske speaks of the forces in Cromwell's wars as "trivial," though Cromwell's victories had a world-wide significance.

* * *

THE lower house of Congress on July 14 passed without opposition a bill appropriating \$640,000,000 for the creation of a great air fleet. It is understood that the personnel authorized will approximate 100,000 men.

* * *

THE Austrian Parliament decided July 17 that Dr. Friedrich Adler, the assassin of Dr. Karl Stürgkh, Premier of Austria, should have been tried by a civil instead of a military court, consequently the death sentence imposed on him will not be carried out. His address at his trial is given elsewhere in this issue.

* * *

TUAN CHI-JUI was reappointed Premier and War Minister of China after the collapse of the effort to restore the monarchy, and Li Yuan-hung announced that he would retire from the Presidency in favor of the Vice President, Feng Kuo-chang. Tuan favored China's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies.

Military Events of the Month

Period From June 18 to July 18, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh U. S. Cavalry

THE past month has seen one of the most remarkable events of the entire war—the renewal of the Russian offensive begun last year. On July 1, the anniversary of the beginning of the battle of the Somme, the Russians began a determined movement along the northern course of the Zlota Lipa from Brzezany to Zloczow.

From such information as had reached us as to the condition of affairs in the new republic, the conclusion was almost unavoidable that there was no hope of Russia giving any assistance to the Allies during the current year. The spirit of the army, it appeared, had been destroyed through the period of fraternization with the enemy; their discipline was believed to have broken down entirely and their morale to be seriously impaired. The ammunition industry, besides, was partially paralyzed through strikes and impossible demands of the workmen, and the transport service, by which food and supplies were sent to the front, was completely disorganized. There was also an element in Petrograd, supported by German interests, that was outspoken against a renewal of the fighting and in favor either of a separate peace or an indefinite armistice. In the face of this condition, it did not seem possible that Russia could be counted upon as a factor in the fighting until next year.

But there was one man in Russia who saw the condition of affairs in its true perspective, who knew that the success of the revolution depended upon a continuation of hostilities until Germany was beaten, and whose enthusiasm and personal magnetism were so great as to nullify all opposing influences. This man was the new Secretary of War, Kerensky. The credit for the renewal of the fighting on the Russian front is his and his alone, and its successful prosecution a tribute to his personal inspiration.

When the Russian offensive of last year was finally halted, the battle line followed the eastern bank of the Zlota Lipa from its source near Zloczow as far as Brzezany. Here it made a curve around the latter point, crossing the river, and continued southward to the Dniester, which it crossed just west of Marympol. Passing west of Stanislaw, it continued south to the Carpathian Mountains, where it linked up to the Rumanian line along the border between Rumania and Transylvania.

First Russian Attack

The first task which the Russians had to accomplish, then, if they proposed to reach out for Lemberg from the east, was to clear the line of the Zlota Lipa throughout its length. This river flows through a deep cut with almost perpendicular sides, making it a particularly nasty line to force. All the advantage lies with the defense, and only great preponderance of artillery would give an attack a reasonable chance of success. It could, however, be flanked by a crossing to the north, where the river is narrow and presents a less difficult problem, and this the Russians tried to do through an attack between Brzezany and Zloczow.

The small village of Koniuchy was taken in this first effort, and about 10,000 prisoners fell into Russian hands. The ground gained, however, added little to their achievement. It was in every way immaterial. There was, however, a valuable significance in the character of the fighting. The Russians used artillery on a very large scale. Apparently they had a great supply of shell and were disposed to use it. There was also evidence that the army which made the attack, the army of Brusiloff, had not been seriously affected by the revolution. No army which was in an unor-

ganized condition a short time before could have been driven, thoroughly in hand at all times, as was the army which took this small village and so many Austrian prisoners. The fighting was of the heaviest kind and must have been accompanied by very heavy losses on the part of the Russians. That they

Blow South of the Dniester

Suddenly, without pausing in their attacks at Brzezany, the Russians opened up a terrific attack south of the Dniester, driving due west from the vicinity of Stanislau toward Dolina and Stryj. It is somewhere in this vicinity that the Germans and the Austrians link up, and it



MAP SHOWING PROGRESS OF THE NEW RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE IN GALICIA

kept up the fighting is another indication of the morale which prevailed.

Not meeting with any great success at this point, the attack was switched further south, to Brzezany, where an effort was made to draw a noose around that important crossing, which, because of the high hills behind it, controls the country to the south and defends the railroad from Lemberg through Rohatyn. The Russian effort here was another failure.

was the Russian idea, undoubtedly, to separate the two forces by driving a wedge between them. This idea is sound. The history of the war on the eastern front will show conclusively that the Austrian is no match for the Russian. Wherever they have met on the field of battle the Austrian has invariably been beaten.

In the early days of the war it was the first invasion of Galicia which placed the Russian Army at the gates of Cracow

and threatened Silesia. Last year it was the great blow in Volhynia which nearly destroyed the Austrian Army. And now again Russia was attempting the same thing. How reasonable the argument is is shown by the results. The Austrian line cracked, the crack widened, and finally the line broke, permitting the Russians to pour through. We hear very often of a line being broken, but we seldom see it done. It is not sufficient merely to penetrate it. The gap through which the penetration is made must be very wide, so that sufficient troops can pass through to have some effect on the two wings thus separated. But the Austrian line was truly broken, and the Russian cavalry raced through, widening the gap as they passed.

The Lukwa River was reached and crossed almost without opposition. The Lomnica, the next stream met with, was the test. The east bank is low, the west bank very high and heavily wooded. If the Austrians could hold the Russians to the east bank of the stream they still had a chance to repair the damage. But the Russians were not to be halted here. The Cossack cavalry forced the river not more than fifteen miles south of the Dniester and drove at the town of Kalusz, the Austrians' former headquarters. They found it unoccupied and took possession.

Fall of Kalusz and Halicz

The Germans, however, had hurried reinforcements south to assist the beaten Austrians, and they came in contact with the advancing Russians first at this point. A heavy but local battle occurred, and the Russians, finding themselves temporarily outnumbered, withdrew. But reinforcements were arriving for both sides, and the real battle for the town was on. It changed hands several times, but finally fell securely to the Russians. Kalusz has an importance which in every way justified the effort to take it. West of the Lomnica River there is no barrier between it and the Stryj. The country is wide open, rolling, it is true, but without any definite natural barrier which would hinder the advance. If a stand is to be made anywhere east of the Stryj, the Lomnica is the line which would be selected. Kalusz is the most important

town along the river, and is, moreover, on the Lemberg-Stanislau railroad. It was for these reasons that the Austrians selected it for their headquarters. With its fall went the line of the Lomnica, the Russians, as this article is written, being apparently firmly established on the west bank.

While this wedge was being pushed between the Austrian and the German armies the town of Halicz, on the Dniester, was stormed and taken. This place is important because it covers the first large bridge east of Chotin across the Dniester, and therefore may be said to guard Lemberg from an attack from the south. A covering force to guard the bridgehead was at once thrown across the Dniester, so that the Russians are now securely on the northern bank.

Effects of Russian Advance

The net results of the Russian advance up to the present time have been large. Nearly 50,000 prisoners have been taken—mostly Austrians—together with great quantities, not enumerated in dispatches, of guns and war material of all kinds. It is certain that the latter results have been considerable. The wedge which the Russians have pushed into the Teutonic lines is over twenty miles deep and at least half that width. The rate of advance was extremely rapid, the entire advance having been made in twelve days. There was not sufficient time to remove to safety the mass of materials normally held behind such a line. The fact that the taking of a number of guns of large calibre is sufficient indication of what must have happened to the Austrian reserve supply centres.

The Russian offensive is, however, infinitely more injurious to the Teutonic cause than the military damage so far inflicted. Ever since the beginning of the war Germany has played, as a most important card, the sympathy of a not inconsiderable number of Russians close to the Petrograd Court. Stürmer was almost openly a German tool. The result was hardly what Germany had been led to expect; nevertheless, it was not for the moment without a decided element of advantage.

When the Russian revolution broke, the German military councils had before them

two alternatives. It was inevitable that such a tremendous civil upheaval should bring in its wake a military upheaval of equal intensity. Disorganization in the military would follow as a matter of course. Should the German Army take advantage of the military situation and attack with chances of a conclusive victory, or should Germany play the diplomatic game, trusting to her complete organization in Russia to produce either a separate peace or a perpetual armistice? Either way the chances of success were bright. While Germany was hesitating between the two, the British and the French on the western front became most active. A perfect hurricane of attacks followed, almost without cessation, demanding all Germany's reserve strength to fight back. The situation was desperate.

A Diplomatic Battle Lost

Confronted, then, with this resistless, unrelenting pressure on the western front, Germany decided to fight Russia with diplomacy rather than with force of arms. It was a gamble, but, as far as was apparent at the time, in no sense a desperate gamble. There was no indication that Russia could get her organization straightened out for some time to come. German Socialists were continually active and had formed an anti-war party in Russia which precluded the idea of any immediate military activity. To them Germany intrusted the task of neutralizing Russia. To have attacked Russia under such circumstances would have been to run the danger of solidifying, on the theory of the defense of the new freedom, all the discordant elements. And a new Russia in the field, with all elements of treachery removed—a Russia in control of the people rather than of a weak aristocracy—would possess an element of potential force that Germany could not face with equanimity.

There were, moreover, certain military factors to be considered. The first was the situation on the western front, a situation upon which hung the reputation of von Hindenburg. His celebrated line was under attack, and a weakening of any portion just at that time might cause a breach and send the German Army scurrying back to the frontier. There

was Italy, who had begun an offensive on a large scale on the Carso, the initial success of which promised badly for the Central Powers unless it could be checked. Austrian reinforcements had to be sent to Italy and to France. The available supply of human materials was small unless the needed men could be detached from the eastern theatre. Germany, therefore, abandoned the Russian front—particularly the northern portion—to the diplomats, and betook a not inconsiderable part of the army for service in the west and south.

But Russia has always been the great surprise of this war. At the end of 1915 he seemed completely out of it, as a result of her disastrous defeat along the Dunajec line, only to return to the fighting six months later more powerful than ever. And now Russia is again afield, possessing the power of at least a tremendous initial drive, whether or not it can be sustained for any considerable period. Germany played her cards and lost.

Delay Means German Defeat

The situation in which the Central Empires are placed is, therefore, that they must win the war in 1917, force the Allies to admit a draw during that year, or go down to inevitable defeat. In 1918 a new Russia will be in the field, a Russia of whose strength the present is but an indication. In that year the United States, fast mobilizing its resources for war purposes, will have material strength in Europe, and will be growing stronger as each day passes. It will not be a question, as was once contemplated, of America taking the place of Russia on the battlefield; America will be supplementing the resources of the new republic with her own.

There remains, as far as is apparent, the submarine campaign, which has fallen far short of the requirements admitted by Germany as necessary last February. The effect of this will have to be greatly increased if it is to accomplish its purpose. And, if we admit as true the statements of the German Chancellor, it is Germany's only and last hope.

The British at Lens

The most important series of actions on the western front during the month

was that of the British along that dirty little stream which flows about Lens—the Souchez River. Ever since taking Vimy Ridge the British have been pecking at the Lens position. Their aim is to surround it from the south and so force its occupants out by the squeezing process. The steps taken this month were begun by the Canadians seizing the high ground west of the suburb of Coulotte. From here, with the trenches close together, they advanced step by step, occupied Coulotte, and established a line squarely across the Lens-Arras road, a scant mile from the village.

The same slow but unhalting process resulted somewhat later in the occupation of Avion, and Lens was placed in a deep

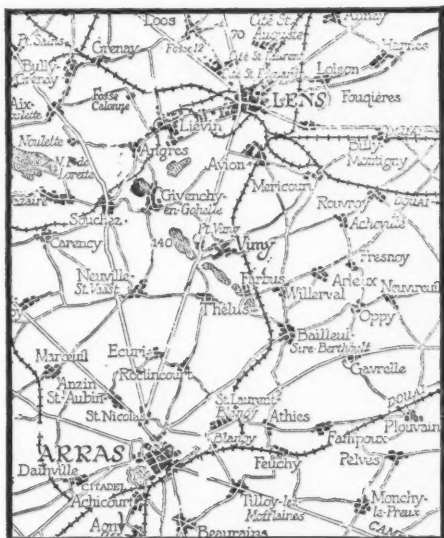
interesting. British raiding parties, made up almost entirely of Canadians, are entering the town with very small loss, and are destroying these positions one after the other by means of bombs. Sometimes a machine gun or two are taken, sometimes they are simply destroyed. But the raids are being carried on without cessation.

It is distinctly noticeable that several weeks have elapsed since the British have attempted any major attack. There is no way of gauging the situation as there was in the battle of the Somme. The operations of the year have consisted in a series of more or less detached attacks, each an independent battle. It is an entirely new development on this front, and has one distinguishing feature. Every attack has had for its object some one position of great local value—usually from the standpoint of observation. In almost every case, moreover, this object has been attained. What the next phase will bring forth it is impossible to forecast.

The Chemin des Dames

Except for one minor attack in the Champagne country east of Rheims, which produced only negative results, France has been on the defensive for the entire month. The Germans have attacked at a number of points between Soissons and Verdun, many of their attacks having reached the intensity and magnitude of a major effort. This is particularly true of the many attacks made along the Chemin des Dames. There is no line between Verdun and the North Sea that is more valuable than this Road of the Ladies. As long as it is in French hands it remains a constant threat against the German position at Laon, which is the very pillar of the whole line to the north.

This celebrated road runs along a tree-fringed ridge and brings under observation many miles of country northward. At the foot of the northern slopes runs the Ailette River, and from its valley rises the high ground on which Laon is situated. It is almost literally true that the German attacks against the French positions here have been unceasing. In-



SCENE OF BRITISH ADVANCES NEAR LENS

pocket, the mouth of which was being constantly narrowed. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the British could take Lens whenever it is desired to do so; but the Germans have so conducted matters that it would be a very expensive operation. In order to give a clear field of fire to the artillery, the houses of the town have been practically leveled. The whole town was then turned into one gigantic nest of machine guns, the cellar of every house being a machine-gun emplacement.

The process now going on is slow, but

deed, such has been their persistency that one is reminded of the attacks at Verdun. It might well be that what the Germans failed to do at Verdun—bleed the French to death—they are now trying to do on the Chemin des Dames. Whether this be the object or not, it is certainly true that the British are being left alone, and all strength concentrated against the French.

All the attacks, however, have been utterly fruitless. The French have broken them one after the other without having their lines even dented. Because of the great advantage of the French position the probabilities are that the German losses have far exceeded those of the French.

German Attack on the Yser

On the extreme left of the allied line, far to the north amid the sand dunes of Belgium, the Germans made the first offensive effort against the British that they have undertaken on their own initiative within a year. They had been whipped and spurred into many heavy and vicious counterattacks, but not for a long time had they undertaken an offensive effort voluntarily.

The northern extremity of the British line in Belgium is in a sense inclosed by a triangle formed by a bend in the Yser River. Going up the river from its mouth, we travel generally southward for a distance of about two miles, and then turn abruptly eastward. The British line, as it was established after the German attempt to drive to Calais, ran about 600 yards to the east of the southward stretch of the Yser, circled about the town of Nieuport, and, crossing the Yser Canal, continued south past Ypres to Armentières. It was against that stretch of line between the coast and the canal that the German attack fell.

Inasmuch as the establishment of the British lines in this sector was the result of a defensive engagement, it is a matter of surprise that a position on the far side of the river was selected. To make a stand before an aggressive enemy with a river only 600 yards in one's rear is a rather hazardous undertaking. A quick, hard blow which shatters the cross-

ings in rear while the infantry presses forward in front is apt to pin the defenders in between the advancing infantry and the river in such a way that escape becomes impossible. The only reason that suggests itself as to the retention by the British of such a dangerous position is that the possibilities of an offensive from this quarter was contemplated, and in view of this it was considered better to have the river behind rather than a barrier before them. In other words, it was a gamble as to who would start the first offensive. If Germany acted first, the British were in



SCENE OF BRITISH REVERSE ON THE YSER RIVER

serious trouble. If the British began operations they stood a good chance of improving their situation and eliminating the danger of having the river in their rear.

The ground over which the German attack was made is perfectly flat, except for the dunes, the intrenchments being built up of sandbags instead of being dug. Apparently there has been but little airplane activity on this front, so that when the Germans were ready for the attack they had the great advantage of superiority in the air, which means the advantage of observation.

Attack Was a Surprise

The attack came as a distinct surprise. Unnoticed by the British air scouts, the Germans effected a heavy concentration

of guns on this small front and suddenly opened a hurricane of artillery fire on the sandbag defenses. At the same time the bridges over the river as well as over the canal were bombarded and destroyed. Reinforcements were thus held back of the river where they could not reach the front British trenches. After a brief but intense artillery preparation the German infantry was sent forward and caught the British against the river with no line of retreat.

The battle was of very brief duration and was a decided success. The British force north of the canal—not more than a few battalions—was completely destroyed either through capture or casualties. The prisoners taken were about 1,200, with probably very small loss to the Germans. It was a brilliant movement, but one of minor importance. Its result on the general situation is that it improves the defensive strength of the German line in this section by forcing the British into a position where they have to fight their way across a river under fire should they ever intend to take the offensive against the Belgian coast. The Germans at no point were able to cross the river themselves, and having destroyed the bridges with their own artillery they will have considerable difficulty following the affair any further should they be so disposed.

Failure in Western Asia

Russia's very effective and truly re-

markable work on the European front has to some extent been offset by her complete failure in Western Asia, as evidenced by the Turkish reoccupation of the town of Khanikin. This small village has a peculiarly important strategic value in any campaign whose object is the occupation of the Mesopotamian plains. The mountains of Western Persia limit, as with a heavy wall, the eastern boundary of this plain. This wall is broken in but one place, and that by the excellent road from Kermanshah to Bagdad. This passage is covered by Khanikin. It was here that the Russian offensive broke down a year ago, and during the past months we have seen a similar retreat.

This means that contact with the British, upon which the success of the entire Asiatic campaign is based, has again been broken, leaving the British right flank completely in the air. On account of the excessive heat in this theatre, this matter is not as important or as serious as it would have been had the incident occurred earlier in the year. As a matter of fact, there has yet to be any activity in Mesopotamia during the Summer months, and this may explain the Russian action.

In all other theatres there has been marked quiet, as if all the powers were pausing for breath before undertaking new engagements.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From June 19 Up to and Including July 18, 1917

UNITED STATES

- A Russian Commission headed by Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff and a Rumanian Commission headed by Dr. Basile Lucaciu conferred with American officials in Washington on the conduct of the war.
- On June 19 Vice Admiral Sims was appointed to take general charge of the allied naval forces in Irish waters.
- All contingents of the American expeditionary forces arrived safely in France and were sent to training camps. The transports were attacked twice by German

submarines, but the U-boats were driven off by American naval gunners, and at least one of them was sunk.

American airplane experts reached England to study modern aircraft designing and manufacturing.

On June 22 President Wilson signed an order authorizing the creation of an Exports Council, and on July 8 he issued a proclamation providing for Government control of exports.

An appeal to business men calling for fair war prices was issued by the President July 11.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamships Orleans, Kansan, Massapequa, and Grace, the schooner Mary W. Bowen, and the barkentine Hildegard were sunk by submarines.

According to British official statements, England's losses for the week ended June 16 included twenty-seven vessels of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended June 23, twenty-one vessels; for the week ended June 30, fifteen; for the week ended July 7, fourteen, and for the week ended July 14, fourteen. These included the Leyland liner Cestrian and the transport Armadale. A torpedo boat destroyer was sunk in the North Sea.

Announcement was made on June 23 that twelve Greek vessels, with tonnage of 31,542, had been sunk since April 1.

France reported two steamships of more than 1,600 tons lost in the week ended June 24 and four in the week ended July 1.

Germany ceded to Holland a number of German ships interned in the Dutch East Indies as payment for vessels destroyed by U-boats.

Argentina demanded an indemnity for the torpedoing of the vessels Oriana and Toro.

Spain barred submarines from her territorial waters.

Brazil revoked her decree of neutrality in the war between the Entente Allies and Germany, and her navy joined the United States fleet in patrolling the South Atlantic on watch for German sea raiders or submarines.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

June 26—Russians repulse strong attacks in Galicia in the direction of Zlochoff.

July 1-2—Russians, led by Kerensky in person, resume their drive toward Lemberg and advance on an eighteen-mile front; they raid Teuton positions in Volhynia, toward Kovel.

July 3—Austro-Germans are evacuating Brzezany; Russians take Presovce, Zborow, and Korshiduv, and drive the enemy across the Stripa River.

July 6—Teutons repulse Russian massed attacks between Zborow and Koniuchy.

July 7—Fighting begins near Pinsk; city of Pinsk reported in flames; Russians occupy German trenches in the Zlochoff region and near Koniuchy.

July 8-9—Russian offensive spreads north and south of Halicz; Russians cross the Bystritza River on both sides of the railroad line running west from Stanislaw to Kalusz and Dolina, and capture several villages and the town of Jezupol.

July 10—Russians take Halicz; Austro-German forces driven across the Lomnica and Luvka Rivers.

July 11—Russians advance on 100-mile front, pursuing the Teutons across the upper Lomnica River.

July 12—Russians capture Kalusz and push on toward Dolina.

July 13—Russians press on in Galicia on a front of nearly fifty miles from Halicz to the foot of the Carpathians, capturing several important heights north of the Dniester and driving the Teutons back to northeast of Ehilus and capturing Perchinsko, west of Kalusz.

July 14—Russians beat off two attacks on Kalusz and capture Novicka.

July 15—Russians repulse attacks in the Lodziany region and take many Austrian prisoners.

July 16—Russians take eastern end of Lodziany.

July 17—Russians driven out of Kalusz by German reinforcements and lose Novicka, but retake it.

July 18—Teutons open heavy fire along the front from south of Brzezany and in the region of Halicz.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

June 19—French repulse German attempts to regain positions in the Champagne district between Mont Carnillet and Mont Blond.

June 20—British retake lost positions east of Monchy-le-Preux; Canadians repulse attacks on new positions near Lens; Germans on the Aisne capture part of French first-line trench east of Vauxaillon.

June 21—French retake part of lost ground at Vauxaillon and push their lines ahead near Mont Carnillet on a 600-yard front.

June 22—Germans pierce French salient on a front of one and a quarter miles along the Chemin des Dames from west of La Royère Farm to the Epine de Chevregny.

June 24—French recapture greater part of salient east of Vauxaillon.

June 25—British advance on a front of one and a half miles southwest of Lens.

June 26—Canadians capture La Coulotte and push beyond it toward Lens; French on the Aisne capture positions northwest of Hurtebise Farm.

June 27—French drive Germans from the Dragon's Cave near Hurtebise.

June 28—Canadians, in drive on Lens, push on half way through Avion.

June 29—British carry German line between Oppy and Gavrelle on a front of 2,000 yards; Germans at Verdun capture French positions on both sides of the Malancourt-Esnes road and storm Avocourt Wood.

June 30—British advance a mile toward Lens over a front of four miles; Germans make small gains at Dead Man Hill.

July 1—Heavy fighting around Avocourt Wood, Hill 304, and Dead Man Hill; British draw close to Lens.

July 2—French drive Germans out of positions west of Cerny village; British forced to retire west of Lens.

July 3—French repulse German attacks on

the Aisne on both sides of the Allès-Paissy road; big artillery battle in the Ypres salient.

July 4—Germans launch powerful offensive north of the Aisne on a front of nearly eleven miles, from north of Joney to the Californie Plateau, but are repulsed with heavy losses; Germans attack French positions on the left bank of the Meuse with liquid fire, but are driven back.

July 5—British advance their line south of Ypres on a 600-yard front near Hollebeke.

July 7—British advance east of Wyttschaete in Belgium.

July 8—German attack in four sectors on the Chemin des Dames repulsed; French seize three strongly organized salients on the west bank of the Meuse.

July 9—French drive Germans from positions on the Aisne front near Bovettes and Chevreigny Ridge.

July 11—Germans launch a strong attack against the British north of Nieuport and drive them back on the Yser River.

July 12—Germans storm British trenches near Monchy and take many prisoners.

July 15—Germans penetrate French salient west of Cerny, but lose part of ground seized; French in Champagne capture German trenches north of Mont Haut and northwest of Teton height.

July 17—French capture German first and second lines on a wide front northwest of Verdun.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

June 20—Italians resume the offensive in the Trentino and capture Austrian positions on Monte Ortigara.

June 21—Italians explode a mine in the Val Casteana-Ampezzo sector under the spur of the Lagazroi Piccolo and destroy the Austrian garrison.

June 26—Austrians suffer heavy losses in attempt to retake positions in the Ortigara sector.

July 11—Italians advance on the Carso and occupy Dalino.

July 12—Austrians driven back in counter-attack after reaching advanced Italian position on Col Bricon.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

June 29—Turks drive Russians across the River Abis Hirman on the Persian frontier.

July 6—Russians attack Turks in the region of Sakkiz.

July 9—Turks reoccupy Panjwin, Khanikin, and Kasr-i-Shirin on the Persian border.

July 12—Announcement made in British House of Commons of capture by the Arabs of Turkish posts between the Tafila-Main district and Akaba.

July 15—Russians drive back Turkish advance guards on the left bank of the River Arish-Darasi.

AERIAL RECORD

British aviators bombarded Ghisteltes, Nieu-

munster, Ostend, and other towns in Belgium and brought down seven German machines at Dunkirk. On July 6 eighty-four French machines raided Germany, dropping bombs on Treves, Coblenz, Essen, and other towns of military importance, and causing heavy damage at the Krupp Works. In the biggest air battle of the war, July 12, the British brought down fourteen German airplanes on the French front and drove sixteen out of control. Nine British machines were lost.

Two great raids were made on England. On July 4 German airplanes dropped bombs on Harwich, killing eleven people and injuring thirty-six. Two German machines were lost. On July 11 London was raided and thirty-seven persons killed and 141 injured. Three of the twenty German machines that took part in the raid were brought down.

British naval aviators attacked the Turkish fleet off Constantinople and dropped bombs on the cruiser Sultan Selin, formerly the German cruiser Goeben. The War Office at Constantinople was also hit.

NAVAL RECORD

The American sailing ship Galena was sunk by a bomb off the French coast.

Great Britain, in a decree that became effective July 4, extended the danger zones in the North Sea northward and westward.

Ponta Delgada, in the Azores, was bombarded by a German submarine. An American transport joined in the firing at the U-boat.

The Peninsular and Oriental liner Mongolia was sunk by a mine off Bombay.

The French armored cruiser Kleber was sunk by a mine off Point St. Mathieu on June 27. Thirty-eight men were lost.

A British torpedo boat destroyer and a German torpedo boat were sunk by mines in the North Sea. British destroyers sank four German merchant ships, captured four, and routed others off the coast of Holland.

An armed American schooner returning to an Atlantic port reported that she had sunk an attacking U-boat.

A Russian torpedo boat was blown up by a mine in the Black Sea on June 30.

RUSSIA

The Pan-Russian Congress of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates adopted a minority resolution approving the creation of a Coalition Government, voted to dissolve the Duma and the Council of the Empire, and rejected the proposal for a separate peace with Germany. Rear Admiral Glennon of the American diplomatic mission, by an address to the soldiers of the Black Sea fleet at Sebas-

topol, ended the mutiny there and secured the restoration of the officers.

Elihu Root and other members of the American Commission addressed the people of Petrograd and other large cities, pleading for the establishment of a secure Government and continued co-operation with the Allies.

The Social Democratic Congress of Finland adopted resolutions demanding the separation of Finland from Russia and the formation of an independent republic. The Finnish Diet passed the second reading of a bill establishing virtual independence, and refused to grant a full 350,000,000 mark loan to Russia.

Five Ministers resigned from the Cabinet because of their unwillingness to decree the autonomy of Ukraine in the absence of the Constituent Assembly.

Petrograd was placed under martial control on July 18, following outbreaks by the Maximalists.

GREECE

The Zaimis Cabinet resigned and a new Ministry was formed by Venizelos. On June 29 the Government severed diplomatic relations with the Teutonic Allies. Turkey announced that she would consider this act equivalent to a declaration of war and would deport the Greeks and confiscate their property. On July 16 the United States received official information that Greece considered herself a belligerent.

MISCELLANEOUS

German authorities seized twenty prominent Belgians and deported them to Germany in reprisal for what Germany alleged was inhuman treatment of German civilian prisoners taken by the Belgians at Tabora, in German East Africa.

The German Emperor divided Belgium into two districts and named one German administrator for the Flemish district and another for the Walloon section.

Germany imposed a fine of 250,000,000 francs on the occupied territory in Rumania.

An investigation into German plots for sinking Norwegian ships by concealing explosives in artificial lumps of coal in the coal bunkers resulted in the arrest of several Germans in Norway and a formal protest to the German Government.

A secret German wireless station was found on an island outside of Arendal.

The Austrian Ministry, headed by Count Clam-Martinić, resigned following the refusal of the Polish Party in Parliament to vote for the war budget. A temporary Ministry was formed by Dr. von Seydler.

The extent of Bohemian disaffection was revealed in a statement by F. von Georgi, retiring Minister of Defense, that three Czech regiments had deserted to the Rus-

sians and that Czech prisoners of war had volunteered for service against Austria.

Spain suspended constitutional guarantees on June 26. Catalonia and the Basque provinces demanded autonomy.

The young Manchu emperor, Hsuan Tung, was restored to the throne in China on July 1 by General Chang Hsun, who ordered President Li Yuan-hung to retire. He was forced to abdicate on July 7 when the Republican forces under Tuan Chi-jui routed the Monarchists near Lang Fang. The Republicans later captured Peking. President Li Yuan-hung decided not to resume office and Tuan Chi-jui assumed the Premiership and took over the war portfolio.

Germany was convulsed by a political crisis. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg, in a speech before the Reichstag on July 9, rejected the Socialist-Centrist program of peace without annexation and declared for continued fighting for conquest. The Emperor promised electoral reforms in Prussia. Dr. A. F. M. Zimmermann resigned as Secretary of Foreign Affairs and was succeeded by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau. Count von Roedern, the Finance Minister, replaced Dr. Karl Helfferich as Minister of the Interior. Bethmann Hollweg resigned on July 14 after a conference between the Kaiser and the Crown Prince and other military leaders. He was succeeded by Dr. Georg Michaelis.

Vice Admiral Delbono succeeded Vice Admiral Arturo as Italian Minister of Marine.

Albanian leaders asked the Italian Government to represent them and their interests at the coming allied conference in Paris, and to demand for them Epirus and parts of Serbia.

Anti-conscription agitation on the part of the French Canadians resulted in riots in Montreal and Quebec.

As a result of a report on the mismanagement of the British campaign in Mesopotamia, J. Austen Chamberlain resigned as Secretary of State for India. He was succeeded by Edwin Samuel Montagu. Lord Hardinge also presented his resignation as Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but it was not accepted. Bonar Law announced in Commons that a judicial inquiry would be made to place the blame for the fiasco. Several other changes were made in the British Ministry. Sir Edward Carson resigned as First Lord of the Admiralty and joined the War Cabinet without portfolio. He was succeeded by Sir Eric Campbell Geddes. Winston Churchill succeeded Dr. Christopher Addison as Minister of Munitions, Dr. Addison becoming Minister without portfolio in charge of reconstruction.

BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE O. SQUIER



Chief Signal Officer of the Army, Whose Department Is
Responsible for Aviation.

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

THE STARS AND STRIPES IN EUROPE



The Standard Bearers of a United States Army Medical Unit
at Blackpool, England.

(Photo Central News)



GENERAL JOFFRE BREAKING GROUND FOR THE LAFAYETTE MONUMENT AT BALTIMORE. BEHIND HIM IS M. VIVIANI, AND ON THE LEFT, WITH HAND EXTENDED, IS MAYOR JAMES H. PRESTON

Joffre's Tribute to Lafayette at Baltimore

By J. H. Barget

AFTER the lapse of 136 years the close ties of friendship uniting French and American hearts were renewed in a dramatic episode in which the recent French Mission took part at Baltimore, Md. It was one of those moments in which history repeats itself. On Nov. 5, 1781, when this nation was just emerging from its struggle for independence, the citizens of Baltimore addressed these words to the Marquis de Lafayette as he passed through that place on his way from the South: "Your good offices could not but increase a cordiality which must render our union with France a permanent one." The presence of our troops today on the battle front in France is a fulfillment of that pledge. General Lafayette said in reply:

"In the affections of the citizens of a

"free town I find a reward for the services of a whole life. The honor of being among America's first soldiers is for me a source of great happiness. The time when I had command of an army in Virginia, which you are pleased so politely to mention, has only shown that the courage and fortitude of American troops are superior to every kind of difficulty."

Like an echo from the tomb of that beloved Frenchman came the expressions of gratitude uttered by Marshal Joffre on May 14, 1917, when the hero of the Marne, with Vice Premier Viviani and other French dignitaries, stood upon the site in Mount Vernon Square, Baltimore, where a monument is shortly to rise in memory of Lafayette. And two months later, on July 14, Frenchmen at home celebrated their own national fête, recall

ing still more vividly the meaning of the great epoch of human liberty which, dawning in America in 1776, reached a new fullness in France in 1789, and is about to culminate in the destruction of the last Bastille of absolutism.

In Baltimore during the Revolution men and women provided General Lafayette's troops with flour and clothing on his march to the South; and today, through popular subscription, they are raising funds to erect a monument to the illustrious Frenchman. Nothing more was needed to stir the blood and sentiment of Americans than the presence of the Marquis de Chambrun, a member of the French War Commission. When he followed General Joffre in breaking the ground on which the monument to his great-grandfather will rise in Baltimore the cheering of the masses rose in volumes for the hero of their ancestors, and the echo passed the gigantic monument of his friend, General George Washington, whose shadow falls on the Lafayette site.

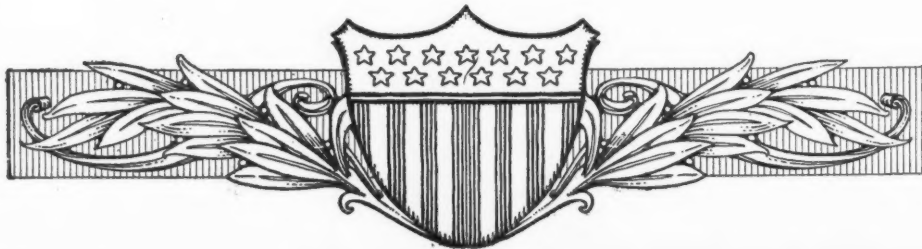
Many of those present at the dedication of the Lafayette site were ancestors of the association of youths known as the De Kalb Cadets, which took part in the great ovation given Lafayette when he visited Baltimore on Oct. 24, 1824, as the guest of the city, through a resolution passed by the City Council. General Lafayette arrived on the steamboat United States, which conveyed him from Frenchtown. After being shown about the city and entertained at the City Hall, General Lafayette was taken to an elevated pavilion at Baltimore and Light Streets. At this point the De Kalb Cadets passed in review and a scene took place which has been repeated in thousands of homes to show how the great soldier of freedom loved the people of Baltimore.

Each Marshal of the De Kalb Association carried a scroll in his hand bound with blue ribbon, upon which was inscribed the word "Gratitude." Each Marshal deposited the scroll at the feet of the General. He repeatedly opened and closed his arms as if in the act of pressing them to his heart; and, when the procession had passed, Lafayette suddenly turned away and burst into tears.

The breaking of the ground for the Lafayette Monument recalled this scene as the earth was turned over by the French Commission. The thousands of school children seemed thrilled and fairly throbbed the sentiments of the noble Lafayette. They each recalled the story of the banner of crimson silk with which Lafayette was saluted on his visit to the city in 1824—the banner whose memory lives in Longfellow's poem, "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns at the Consecration of Pulaski's Banner." The banner was presented to Count Pulaski by the nuns of Bethlehem. At the time he was raising a corps of cavalry in Baltimore, having been made a Brigadier in the Continental Army, and had called on Lafayette, who was wounded.

The visit to our shores of General Joffre, former Premier Viviani, and the French War Commission, coupled with the celebration in Paris this year, brings back vividly the days of the Revolution. It appears singular that after all these years we find ourselves in a rôle similar to that played by Lafayette and his fellow-countrymen in our hour of peril.

Thomas Hastings, who designed the Lafayette Monument in Paris, is now working on the plans for its completion. It is proposed to have the monument erected in Baltimore before the next national holiday of France, July 14, 1918.



War's Inferno on the Aisne Ridge

By Wythe Williams

(Cabled to *The New York Times*, July 12, 1917)

YESTERDAY at dawn I stood on the Chemin des Dames. For the first time in almost three years some one other than the struggling soldiery has been able to reach that bloody ridge. It is called the Road of the Ladies, because it was built by Louis XV. for his daughters. Although grim irony now, the name must remain famous forever as the scene of the mighty conflict still raging for its final possession.

Only a few yards from me was the spot where once stood the monument of Hurtebise, commemorating the battles of Napoleon. Nothing remains of it. It is just a spot pointed out by my officer in that waste of tortured earth. The whole road is the same. It is only a place no different from all that surrounds, and which my officer told me was the Chemin des Dames.

I crawled forward and down deep into the earth through a great granite cavern known as the Den of the Dragons. I passed out beyond the Chemin des Dames and crept slowly and cautiously into the first line of shellholes of the French Army—not trenches, but shellholes vaguely connected by gullies of mud and water. The first line of German shellholes was directly down the ridge beneath me.

The last of the stars were burning out and the light of a new day was just beginning to make things clear. There had been four alarms sounded on that particular section of the line in the twenty-four hours previous, and during the evening a strong but futile German attack. But now it was intensely quiet. Soldiers lay all about me—rifles and hand grenades always ready—but no sound broke the silence. The artillery was taking an early morning sleep, which fact alone was responsible for the permission granted to me to get so close to the very hand grapple of war.

What Our Troops Will See

Many miles behind lay an American army. With its early coffee it might dimly hear the artillery awake from slumber—the awakening wafted to it on the breezes of a July morning. I thought of the American Army as I sat in the mud beside a French *poilu* carefully sighting his rifle on a ridge of wet earth before us. I thought of the day, so soon to come, when that army must march forward to relieve some similar portion of this line that is hell's very own. I thought of the great armies now being organized back home—armies containing my friends and relatives, my own people—which must come soon to take their places in order that the world's civilization may be saved.

Last November I tried to describe the blasted slopes of Douaumont and the battle front of Verdun. That battlefield remains and always will remain the very last word in modern war. Nothing surpasses its appearance. Nothing can ever surpass it. But now the whole battle line is getting just like that. Some of it gradually, some quickly, like the Chemin des Dames, which is almost as awful a sight as Verdun after nearly a year of constant grueling artillery fire.

Along the Chemin des Dames I counted four charred and splintered stumps at great intervals. That was all that remained to mark a roadway, once macadamized and lined with great trees and hedge rows. In a day or even an hour they are likely to vanish, too, so that nothing will remain but a long expanse of tortured, shell-pocked, upturned, and battered earth. It is like a wild sea suddenly made to be still a moment, drawing under the caps of its waves thousands of pieces from the wreckage of sunken ships—the *débris* of battle and the remnants of men. No other comparison than a sea fits the battlefield,

both in its appearance and its desolation.

Importance of the Highroad

The Chemin des Dames runs for miles along the very top of the crest captured by the French at the time of the last great offensive. It is something probably the most coveted by the Germans on the whole battle line. Its possession gives the French all the observatories overlooking the valley of the Ailette. Its continued possession by the French makes the Germans tremble for their future. So the battle is always going on. Every day, almost every hour, at some point or other along the Chemin des Dames, the enemy strives desperately to regain some portion of the old line he held so long.

On this particular evening I was billeted at an Army Headquarters far in the rear, but was awakened by the sound of the guns. There was a continuous, unending roar that sounded plainly through the night. I feared that the trip would be called off, but on the stroke of 2 o'clock—the hour set for the start—an orderly came to my cot with a pot of hot coffee and told me an auto was waiting. Getting into my boots, I noticed the bombardment had died down, and went outside into a heavy drizzle which made me quite happy. Not that I particularly welcomed walking some hours in the rain and mud, but because the air was so heavy I felt positively there would be no German gas attack just while making the last stages of the journey. The thought of a gas attack at dawn on the unsheltered slopes of the Chemin des Dames was anything but cheerful.

We went some miles in the car with lights bright, then at a certain point everything was made dark. We plowed away over tiny twisting new roads leading in the general direction of the front. We went very slowly. I could see through the dark long lines of troops plodding along the roadside going in the same direction. They were fresh troops, as we learned later, going to relieve the men in the front line who had borne the brunt of the attack that night.

At 4 o'clock—it was still dark on ac-

count of the heavy weather—we left the car in the rear at a post called the Moulin Rouge. I could faintly see a cluster of wooden shacks through the trees. I was met by a French Major. It was the gay welcome habitual to French officers, no matter what their business in hand. * * *

Sharpshooters at Work

We reached the listening post and slumped down into the mud. The soldier there was standing erect. We were all exactly the same color as the mud about, and the soldier told us it was quite safe to stand up and take a look over the barrier at the valley below. He explained casually, but in whispers, that the Germans were straight down the slope at our feet, so if they looked up to see what he was doing they would be sure to be killed by any one of scores of riflemen in similar positions to our own all along the line.

He was leaning over the parapet, aiming his rifle as he spoke. He was so unconcerned, so ordinary, so matter of fact, that I jumped back, startled and amazed, as the sound of the rifle fired suddenly broke the thread of conversation.

"Got an officer that time," he said, after a moment, and kept holding the same apparently casual but very careful aim over the edge.

I stepped forward and looked about. The entire valley of the Ailette stretched away to distant hills. On the left I could see moving Germans through a grove of trees through glasses. They seemed no further distant than across an ordinary street. The artillery was still sleeping, and they continued to move unchecked. Over the tiny stream I could see several white flags on what seemed to be bridges. The officer explained that they were fake Red Cross flags hung there by the Germans in a vain hope to avert fire.

I looked once more across the waste of mud. Only a few yards out lay a headless body. It was recognizable as a body then, but in a little while when the artillery duel would again be under way it would quickly be torn and retorn, buried and reburied under the storm until nothing remained.

As I stepped into the shelter a cannon roared. It was broad daylight on the Road of the Ladies.

Weary Troops From the Front

In a few minutes we began passing lines of poilus headed for the rear. We could not see clearly, but we understood they were troops just out of the front line. They paid no attention to us, and we noticed a sense of weariness in their walk as they plodded silently along.

We continued on our path beyond the village, where we met another party marching to the rear. At their heads was a small detachment of stretcher bearers. But the stretchers were rolled. There were no wounded. The sight of those rolled stretchers gave us a thrill as great as if that detachment had been a band playing martial music. The Germans had indeed failed if these Red Cross men were going back with their stretchers empty. Several of them smiled a greeting as we passed. But the men coming behind were like those we had seen among the stones of the village. They did not smile. Stumbling along in the dim light they looked as forlorn as scarecrows and just as bedraggled and unkempt. The glory of fighting and winning had all gone. They were just a gang of dog-tired men and they did not care a hang who we were or what. They did not even see us; they stared straight ahead with eyes so fixed, yet so lifeless, that it almost seemed as if they were blind.

They had come from that hell on the Chemin des Dames. They had been there for a prescribed number of days. They had not slept; they had only fought and fought and fought. Now they were going back for several days' rest, the same prescribed number. Then they would return to the Chemin des Dames or elsewhere, where they would go through the same performance over and over again, some of them. And they would do it willingly and bravely to the end. They were soldiers of France fighting for more than men ever fought for before.

We got our slow barrage as we came out from the trees into the open desolation that now exists everywhere in the immediate neighborhood of the line of fire. We hugged the lower stretches of the ridge which is the Chemin des Dames. The Germans were sending over shrapnel, but it fell into the valley at our left, and only occasionally were we forced to wait when black clouds of smoke hung in the sky directly before our path.

In the Dragons' Den

We gradually crept up the sides of the slope until about a third of the way from the top. We welcomed with a sigh of relief a yawning hole that is the entrance of the Dragons' Den. This vast winding cavern, one of scores along the Chemin des Dames front, is chiefly remarkable in that it extends clear across the ridge under the roadway and gives a view from the opposite side across the valley of the Ailette. It was held by the Germans long after the surrounding positions were captured, the French having only the end where we entered and a few yards of the tunnel. It is part quarry, part natural grotto, and big enough to conceal whole regiments. It resisted until a couple of weeks ago. When the French entered they merely had to count and bury the dead where they had fallen, and count the unresisting prisoners. We wandered through it lighted by candles. It still held a faint, sickly odor of gas. It is now used as a shelter for troops holding the front lines.

There are several holes where one can crawl directly to the summit of the ridge, others on the far side leading just above the present lines. It was by scrambling up through one of these holes on the Chemin des Dames and through a second one that we crawled to a listening post only fifteen yards from the Germans. The second exit was very difficult, and it made me wonder how it had been possible for all the German soldiers to pass through it whenever an alarm sounded calling them to their places in the shellholes.

A British Reverse on the Yser

By Philip Gibbs

[Cabled to The New York Times]

The Germans struck a heavy, unexpected blow on July 10, 1917, against the British lines north of Nieuport, on the Belgian Coast. After twenty-four hours of terrible artillery fire they broke through on a front of nearly a mile, driving the defenders back upon the Yser River (or Canal) and capturing a strip of sand dunes to a depth of 600 yards. The defenders, the King's Royal Rifles and Northamptons, were cut off from relief by the shell fire, which smashed all defenses and destroyed the bridges, so that only a few wounded men escaped by swimming. The Germans took 1,250 prisoners; the rest of the force died fighting.

[See Map on Page 232]

IT began early on the morning of July 10, when the enemy concentrated a great power of artillery on the British trenches and breastworks in the sands of the east side of the Yser Canal, north of Nieuport, with their left on the seashore. The enemy's position was in a network of trenches, tunnels, concrete emplacements, and breastworks of thick sandbag walls, built down from the coast to south of Lombaertzyde. Facing him were other trenches and breastworks which the British had recently taken over from the French. Behind them was the Yser Canal, with pontoon bridges crossing to Nieuport and Nieuport-les-Bains. Without these bridges there was no way back or around for the men holding the lines in the dunes.

The enemy began early in the morning by putting a barrage down on the British front-line system of defenses from a large number of batteries of heavy howitzers. His shells swept up and down the British front, smashing breastworks and emplacements and flinging up a storm of sand. After that hour the enemy altered his line of fire. There was five minutes pause, five minutes of breathing space for the men still left alive among the many dead, and then the wall of shells crossed the canal and stayed there for another hour, churning up the sand with a tornado of steel.

The guns then drifted to the front line again, and for another hour continued their work of destruction, pausing for one of those short silences which had given the men hope that the bombardment had ceased. It had not ceased. It traveled again to the support line and stayed, smashing there for sixty minutes, then across the canal. There was one interval

of a whole quarter of an hour, and officers had time to tell their men it must be a fight to the death, because the position must be held until death. At best when the shelling began it was thought by some of the officers it was retaliation for a raid on Lombaertzyde the night before, and would not be followed by an attack from the German marines, who were known to be holding the enemy's line.

But the commanding officer of the Sixtieth became convinced by 3 o'clock in the afternoon that all this destructive fire was preparatory to a big attack. He saw his bridges had gone behind him, so there was no way of escape, and he saw that the enemy was trying to cut off all means of relief and communication. He tried to get messages through, but without success.

Two shells came into his battalion headquarters, killing and wounding some of the officers and men crowded in the sandbag shelter and dugout in the dune. He took the survivors into a tunnel bored by miners along the seashore, and here for a time they were able to carry on. But it was almost impossible to get out to reconnoitre the situation or to give some word of comfort or courage to the men standing to arms among the wreckage. Flights of hostile airplanes were overhead, and they flew low and poured machine-gun fire at any living man who showed. Away behind they were searching for British batteries.

At 6:15 all the German batteries broke into a drum fire and poured shells all over the British position for three-quarters of an hour without pause. After all these previous barrages it reached greater heights of hellishness, destroying what

already had not been destroyed, sweeping all this wide tract of sand dunes right away from coast to south of Lombaertzyde with flame and smoke and steel and reaping another harvest of death.

There are many details of this action which may never be known. No man saw it from other ground, and those who were across that bank of the Yser could see very little beyond their own neighborhood of bursting shell. But a Sergeant of the Northamptons, who had an astounding escape, saw the first three waves of German marines advance with bombing parties. That was shortly after 7 o'clock in the evening. They were in heavy numbers against the few scattered groups of English soldiers still left alive after a day of agony and blood. They came forward bombing in a crescent formation, one horn of the crescent trying to work around behind the flank of rifles on the seashore as the other tried to outflank the Northamptons on the right.

A party of machine gunners crept along the edge of the sands, taking advantage of the low tide, and enfiladed the support line, now a mere mass of sand in which some wounded and unwounded men held out, and swept them with bullets. Another party of marines made straight for the tunnel, which now was the battalion headquarters of the Sixtieth, and poured liquid fire down it. Then they passed on, but, as if uncertain of having completed their work, came back after a time and bombed it. Even then there was at least one man not killed in that tunnel. He stayed there among the dead till night, then crept out and swam across the canal.

Two platoons of riflemen fought to the last man, refusing to surrender. One little group of five lay behind a band of sand and fired with rifles and bombs until they were destroyed. Meanwhile the Northamptons on the right were fighting desperately against the German marines, trying to get behind them on the right flank. Seeing that they had not the strength to resist this, they got a message through to some troops further down in front of Lombaertzyde to form a barrier, so that the enemy could not come through, and these fought their way grimly up, thrusting back the enemy's storm troops, and then made a defensive

block through which the marines could not force.

The German marines brought up a machine gun and fixed it behind the place where the Northampton officers had established their headquarters and fired upon it. The British machine guns were out of action, filled with sand or buried in the sand. One gunner managed to get his weapon into position, but it jammed at once, and with a curse on it he flung it into the waters of the Yser, and then jumped in and swam back. Another gunner lay by the side of his machine gun, hit twice by shells, so that he could not work it. One of his comrades wanted to drag him off to the canal bank, in the hope of swimming back with him. To linger there a minute meant certain death.

"Don't mind about me," said the machine gunner of the Northamptons. "Smash my gun and get back."

There was no time for both, so the gun was smashed and the wounded man stayed on the wrong side of the bank.

The fighting lasted an hour and a half after the beginning of the infantry attack. It was over at 8:30 P. M. A wounded Sergeant of the Northamptons who swam back saw the last of the struggle. He saw a little group of his own officers, not more than six of them, surrounded by marine bombers, fighting to the end with their revolvers. The picture of these six boys out there in the sand with their dead lying around them, refusing to yield and fighting on to certain death, is one of the memories of this war that should not be allowed to die.

Over the Yser Canal men were trying to swim, men dripping with blood and too weak to swim, and men who could not swim. Some gallant fellow on the Nieuport side swam across with a rope under a heavy fire, and fixed it so that the men could drag themselves across.

So a few survivors came over, and so we know, at least in its broad outline, how all this happened. It is a tragic tale, and there will be tears when it is read, but above the tragedy there is the splendor of these poor boys, young soldiers all, who fought with a courage as great as any in history.

Report on the British Disaster at Kut-el-Amara

THE report of the British commission which investigated the first Mesopotamia expedition was submitted to Parliament June 26, 1917, and created a profound sensation. The report finds that the expedition was a justifiable military enterprise, but was undertaken "with insufficient forces and inadequate preparation," and that its initial failure, with the loss of Kut, was due to lack of foresight, mistakes, and miscalculations. The report frankly declares that the shortcomings revealed reflect discredit upon the organizing aptitude of all concerned.

The report finds that the main responsibility for recommending an advance in 1915 with insufficient transport and equipment rests with General Sir John Eccles Nixon, the former commander of the British forces in Mesopotamia, while the others sharing responsibility are placed in the following sequence: In India, Baron Hardinge, the former Viceroy, and General Sir Beauchamp Duff, the former Commander in Chief of the British forces in India; and in England, Major Gen. Sir Edmund Barrow, the Military Secretary of the India Office; J. Austen Chamberlain, Secretary for India, and the War Committee of the Cabinet. The report shows the mistakes and miscalculations incident to the attempt to advance on Bagdad, which involved the surrender of more than a division of the finest fighting troops, while the casualties incurred in the ineffectual attempt to relieve Kut amounted to about 23,000 men.

The report says that the general armament and equipment were not up to the standard of modern European warfare and were quite insufficient for the purpose. Up to the end of 1915 the efforts made to rectify the deficiency in river transport were wholly inadequate. The report concludes:

Looking at the facts, the want of foresight and provision for the most fundamental needs of the expedition reflects discredit upon the organizing aptitude of all the authorities concerned. To Lord

Hardinge, as Viceroy, belongs the general responsibility attaching to his position as head of the Indian Government. More severe censure must be passed upon the Commander in Chief, for not only did he fail closely to superintend the adequacy of the medical provision, but he declined for a considerable time, until ultimately forced by the superior authority of the Viceroy, to give credence to rumors which proved to be true, and failed to take measures which subsequent experience shows would have saved the wounded from avoidable suffering.

The report largely attributes the shortcomings to the policy of indiscriminate retrenchment pursued for some years before the war by the India Government under instructions from the home Government. Transport and medical services are indicated as the weakest spots in the expedition, the lack of transport preventing reinforcements from reaching Kut in time. For "the lamentable breakdown" of the technical services the responsibility is attributed to Surgeon General H. G. Hathaway, who "showed singular unfitness for the high administrative office he held."

The signatories to the report are Lord George Hamilton, Earl Donoughmore, Lord Hugh Cecil, Sir Archibald Williamson, Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, General Sir Neville Lyttelton, and John Hodge, Minister of Labor.

In consequence of this report J. Austen Chamberlain resigned as Secretary for India. It is understood that judicial proceedings are contemplated against the responsible military officers.

Arthur Balfour, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons July 18 supported Lord Hardinge, formerly Viceroy of India and now Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Balfour declared criticism of Baron Hardinge to be grossly unjust, and said that, while he held his present office, he would not permit such a gross act of injustice to any of his subordinates. The House of Commons then supported Mr. Balfour's refusal to accept Baron Hardinge's resignation as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs by a vote of 176 to 81.

The Submarine Situation

By Thomas G. Frothingham

The material in this article was supplied to the writer by an American scientist, one of the leading practical experts on the submarine.

IT is evident that in times of war there are many things that cannot be discussed, but it is allowable to give a better idea of the situation, and especially to correct widely accepted errors concerning the U-boat, the most persistently misunderstood factor in the present war.

If one realizes that the proposition is being soberly considered, from a purely commercial point of view, of shortening the voyage from Northern Europe to the Pacific some 10,000 miles by sending goods in submarines under the arctic ice, it brings home the possibilities of what were considered a few years ago unreliable mechanical toys.

Even after the results accomplished by the U-boats in this war there is a general easy-going tendency in the public mind to regard the submarine as an outside factor that somehow or other will be done away with. This is all wrong, and it should be recognized that the U-boat is today the most active force in the war, the most dangerous weapon of the Teutonic allies. Submarines are steadily doing more damage than any other military arm of the enemy. To curb the U-boat is the greatest problem of the war. This does not mean that Americans should fall into pessimism and believe that the U-boats are now accomplishing military results that are decisive of the war. For this is not true. But Americans should not allow themselves to remain blind to the fact that our greatest danger is this American invention, and every resource of American ingenuity must be called upon to overcome it.

The truth should be baldly stated, that the submarine evil is at its worst. It would be a good thing for our people to understand this, for an intelligent public demand is an incentive to military activity. The lack of such a spur in Great Britain has been harmful. It is only

recently that the British public has begun to realize the submarine situation. At first there was no conception that the U-boats were a menace, then came over-confidence from a few successes against them in the early stages—and then the censored concealment of the damage they were doing.

Growth of the U-Boat Peril

The above is largely the reason for the unrestricted growth of the evil. After the first shock of the blow at British control of the seas, if the British Navy, stimulated by an aroused public, had devoted its best energies to devising means to suppress the U-boat there might have been a different story today. Instead of this the first lull in U-boat activity was regarded as a complete victory. There had been some successes, using nets, chasers, ramming, &c., and these means were assumed to be sufficient. It is known that many devices lay for months without being looked at. The "authorized" tales of Kipling, Noyes, &c., lulled the public into security, and the British Navy thought the problem was solved.

Then the U-boats outgrew the methods that had been relied upon. The engine noises that helped the chasers have been muffled. The nets are not effective in broad areas of ocean. The U-boat, which at first required three to five minutes to submerge, now rises, observes, and submerges in fifteen seconds. What chance is there of ramming one now, except by the most unheard-of luck?

The U-boats spread their activities over wide areas on the seas, and there were no new schemes of defense ready to cope with the new conditions. As the sinkings increased, the losses were concealed or minimized by the British censors, and the British public did not realize the extent of the damage until it was so self-evident that the censorship could not conceal it.

Full Truth Not Told

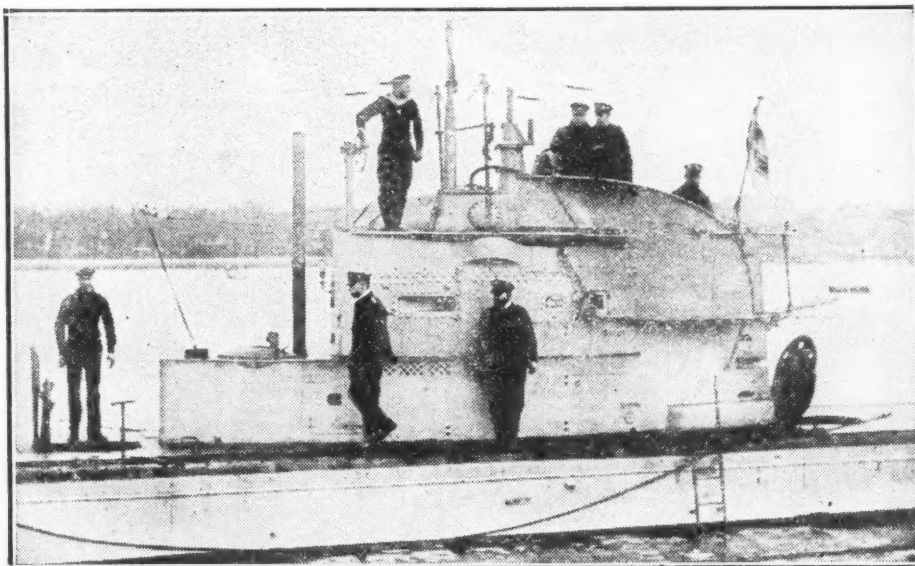
Even today there is no frankness in telling the story. The carefully pre-

pared weekly tables are most misleading. The five thousand and odd sailings and arrivals include all the local craft that make short trips in and out of British ports. Upon these numbers the small percentages are computed. The actual losses are a large percentage of the cargo-carrying tonnage, and far exceed any replacements that are in sight.

We must not allow ourselves to be misled, or to think that the submarine danger is abating. On the contrary, its

and at other times greater numbers in active service.

Of course it is now evident that the tales of great captures of U-boats, kept secret to impress the enemy with the horror of "disappearance," are wholly imaginary. Throughout all the warfare against the submarines the actual captures have been very few. There is good authority to say that the number of U-boats taken has not yet come anywhere near to two figures.



THE NEW TYPE OF GERMAN U-BOAT, WITH 3-INCH ARMORED CONNING TOWER
(© American Press Association)

perils are as great as ever, and sinkings can be prevented only by ceaseless vigilance and the use of every possible means of defense.

On the best authority it can be stated that the Teutonic allies have some 800 U-boats engaged in the present campaign. These may be roughly described as divided into three "watches," one-third coming from the base, one-third on active service, and one-third on its way back to the base. The average time of this turn of service, from the base and return, is about three weeks. It is known that there is a certain amount of supplying at sea, but it may be safely assumed that the great majority of the U-boats return to their bases to refit. As is natural in such an arrangement, there are at times lulls,

Some submarines have been destroyed, but it is believed that a larger proportion of the losses have been from accidents at sea, probably in most cases from the diving mechanism getting out of order and letting the submarine sink to a great depth. This is the main danger to the U-boats, and this will happen at times even in the most effectively operating types of submarines. We have been saved from frequent accidents of this nature in the United States Navy by trying out and developing our U-boats in shallow waters. We have great stretches of comparatively shallow water off our coast, and most of the operating of the submarines has been so safeguarded. The tragic accident at Honolulu in a great depth of water will be remembered as an example of this kind of accident.

Enemy Submarines Increasing

In the period of warfare against the U-boats the German losses of these craft from all causes are believed by the best experts to have averaged from three to five per month. It is known that the Germans are able to turn out U-boats rapidly, and that they have much more than replaced these losses. This is very far from the popular idea, but it is better to try to get at the truth.

One great mistake is to exaggerate the weaknesses of the submarine, yet this is the usual habit. It is an untrue picture to paint the U-boat as a fugitive cheerily chased by a swarm of mosquito boats, each armed with a feeble sting, and each certain that the submarine must soon rise to the surface to meet destruction from the one-pounder's shot in the periscope—to disappear in a spot of oil.

In the first place, the idea that the U-boat must come to the surface at frequent intervals, though still exploited, is no longer true. The present types of submarines can remain two days submerged with perfect comfort, and can easily travel 250 miles while thus submerged. The smitten periscope and the swirl of oil, announcing the doom of a U-boat, are also too frequently in print. All the submarines now carry two periscopes, some also have emergency periscopes, and most of them several spares. So evidently the wound in the periscope alone does not put out the submarine. It must also be remembered that the essential hull of the submarine is inside the oil tanks, and a liberal pouring of oil on the waters may only mean a punctured oil tank. The real hull must be injured to destroy the U-boat.

Gun Power of U-Boats

While the fleet of small patrol boats is of real use in scouting, and most valuable in developing and educating an intelligent personnel that will be a valuable auxiliary to the navy, it should be realized that these patrol boats alone cannot hope to engage submarines. If they are to attempt more than keeping a lookout, they must work in company with craft that are heavily enough armed to dominate the gunfire of the

U-boats. Otherwise, all a submarine would have to do, when attacked by these lightly gunned patrol boats, would be to thrust its protected superstructure above the surface and then destroy the patrols at its leisure by gunfire. The present submarines carry very able guns, 4-inch, 5-inch, and in some cases 6-inch. These are short-calibre guns, as they must be designed to be housed down into the hull, and consequently they are not equal to the naval guns of corresponding calibre, but they are very effective at the ranges of the U-boat's operations.

Although in the war game the life of the U-boat is given as one hit, it must be a real hit with a real gun. Besides this, any craft that is to engage a U-boat must have more than one gun, to be sure of destroying its enemy, as the U-boat has the advantage of offering a smaller target—and the U-boat itself has more than one gun.

The usual two naval guns in the bow and stern of the armed merchantman have not proved an insurance against the U-boat, as there already have been cases of ships so armed being worsted by the gunnery of the U-boats. It is now evident that arming merchantmen, while it is a help, is not a panacea against the submarine peril, as was hoped at first.

Value of Destroyers

It should be kept in mind that the destroyer is the lowest denominator in warships that can be considered strong enough really to dominate a U-boat with gunfire. That is, a flotilla of destroyers consists of units each one of which is able to destroy a U-boat in action.

The destroyer type, which was less esteemed before the present war, has won for itself recognition because its value has been proved in war conditions. At Jutland the destroyer showed its worth as an auxiliary of the battleship. In the warfare against the submarine the destroyer has proved the most effective warship.

The destroyers of the United States Navy which were sent abroad made an impression at once in Great Britain. Our destroyers are far superior to those of the British Navy. From our idea of a wider use of these craft as scouts we

have evolved a type that is a better sea boat, and consequently they can buck the weather and stay at sea much longer without being docked. There were not very many of our destroyers sent abroad, but their presence in British waters at once set a new standard, and this has been a great stimulus to the British Navy. Without undue self-praise we may believe that there is now much more alertness and vigilance in the operations against the U-boats.

Sending Admiral Sims, in command of our naval contingent, to co-operate with the British Navy meant even more than giving the assistance of one of our ablest officers. Admiral Sims had been for some months the President of the Naval War College, and he carried with him the results of the study of the submarine problem in the United States Navy.

Early in the game the United States Navy had recognized the submarine as the greatest danger on the sea, and much work has been done in seeking means to neutralize this menace. Admiral Sims and his officers have had all the benefit of this. There are many promising devices that may be worked out, but it is not wise to hope for sensational developments at once. It is more sensible to believe that evasion of the U-boats and protection of their intended victims will prove the present task of the united navies.

Undoubtedly an increasing amount of zealous skill is being devoted to the use of all means of defense available, and vigilance is taking the place of self-confidence. It is probable that the whole game is being plotted out as never before, and to this should be attributed any check on the sinkings, not to radical inventions.

The reports of sinkings have recently been more favorable, and this gives ground for hope that the more systematic use of every safeguard, and the new spirit in the campaign against the U-boats, may be already showing good results. In any case, there must be no delusions as to lessened danger from the U-boats, and no return of self-confidence, either in the navies or on the merchantmen.

Best Methods for Safety

As has been said, arming the merchantman has not insured safety against the U-boat. In many cases it has saved the ship—but it is to be feared that in others it has done harm in making the merchant Captains overconfident. From the first this quality has caused a great many sinkings. There have been too many Captains cocksure that, though the enemy craft might get other boats, they would never “get him”—and at all times too many ships have been coming and going in their same old lanes. The tragedy of the *Lusitania* was an instance of this.

Unexpected courses, the use of speed at the right time, concealment, and protection are all necessary means of evading the U-boats, and it is probable that the use of these precautions is now being imposed upon the merchant Captains.

Convoying has from the first been recognized as a great protection. But it is evident that the convoying destroyer or other armed ship, if simply moving along abreast of its charge, shares the same danger from waiting submarines. What is called “stationary convoying” is now considered much more effective. This implies large areas policed by patrols, into and through which the ship moves on her voyage. The increase in safety is obvious, and it is probable that this means of defense will be increasingly used. In these days of steam navigation a voyage can be plotted out with definite rendezvous at all stages, and it is possible to arrange a schedule so as to insure a comparatively protected voyage.

Use of Smoke Screens

The smoke screen, which was developed by the United States Navy, has probably been found the best protection for a ship in actual danger of attack by a U-boat. Concealment is given quickly and effectively. In most cases this screen is thrown out by convoying craft, but our navy has devised a practical and economical way of equipping merchantmen with this protection.

The United States Navy is known to have developed an improved high explosive bomb for use against the U-boat. In warfare against submarines the British

Navy had used bombs, especially when the presence of the U-boat was shown by the "Pram" nets, which were buoyed out on the surface of the water. But these bombs did no damage unless they were practically in contact with the U-boat. Cases are known of escapes when the bomb exploded within four feet of the craft attacked. In the improved American bombs the delayed explosion below the surface is so powerful that it will seriously injure the hull of a U-boat twenty-five or thirty feet away.

It is too generally believed that an airplane can detect a submerged U-boat. With the present tendency to overestimate the tactical value of aircraft, this is one of the functions glibly assigned to these machines. The truth is that the airplane can detect a submarine only in a perfect calm. Even the slightest ripple reduces greatly the depths at which it can be seen. In any sea at all the submerged U-boat cannot be detected by an airplane flying over it.

In May of this year there were two weeks of abnormally calm weather in the North Sea, and some U-boats were observed by airplanes, especially in shallow water, assisted by the shadow of the U-boat. Curiously enough, the submerged U-boats so seen are said to appear like whitish objects, no matter what color they are painted. This exceptional weather condition is so rare that it proves the rule cannot be counted upon—and there is not a great future for the airplane in detecting U-boats under the surface.

Hydroplanes Effective

A more practical utility for aircraft against submarines is to use hydroplanes to observe large areas of water, to watch out for U-boats rising to the surface, and to signal their presence to ships. With their wide range of vision hydroplanes can cover long distances on the

seas. Perhaps at present, with the difficulties of navigating planes at sea, dirigibles of a reliable type might do this work better, but probably these difficulties of navigating the hydroplanes will be overcome in the future.

Any system of safeguarding against the submarine must reckon on the possibility of attack without the U-boat showing a periscope at all. It is known that some of the submarines are equipped with apparatus that will locate the position of an enemy ship in an astonishingly accurate way. A ship 400 feet long at 8,000 feet range might become a target for a U-boat thus equipped, so that the U-boat, without observing through its periscope, would be able to discharge its torpedo at the target without a large angle of error. This last, however, increases the chances of a miss sufficiently to make the U-boat prefer the periscope, as the submarine's torpedoes are expensive and few in number; but such ability on the part of the U-boat must always be considered in the problem.

This is only one more reason to emphasize the need of some means of detecting the position of the U-boat when submerged. The importance of finding a practical detector will be self-evident to the reader. There are great hopes of such an invention in the near future—but of course there can be no discussion of this at present. Neither can there be any mention of other means that are being worked out; but the above is a fair statement of "the case so far."

To sum up the elements of defense, we should have:

Stationary convoying, with policed areas.

Destroyers to dominate the U-boats.

Smoke screens as the best concealment.

Aircraft to observe U-boats coming to the surface.

Some means of detecting submarines.

The utmost zeal and vigilance in the navies and on the merchantmen.



U-Boat Destruction of Shipping

Record From June 13 to July 15, 1917

THE destruction of merchant ships belonging to the Allies and neutrals has reached a stage where the outlook is regarded in some quarters as serious. A startling dispatch from a press correspondent in London on July 18 asserted that "the loss of ships by submarines totals 1,600,000 tons a month, or from two to three times the total of new construction." The available figures by no means support this estimate; they are, however, incomplete. The figures issued by the British Admiralty, while referring only to British ships, and concealing the tonnage totals, do not suggest that more than about 500,000 tons of British shipping are being destroyed monthly. The available figures of all other losses of Allies' and neutrals' ships by no means bridge the indicated difference.

The British merchant ships destroyed by submarines and mines since the last figures published in this magazine are, according to the Admiralty reports:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended June 17...27	5	0	
Week ended June 24...21	7	0	
Week ended July 1....15	5	11	
Week ended July 8....14	3	7	
Week ended July 15...14	4	8	
Total for five weeks. 91	24	26	

The totals for the last three months (thirteen weeks) are:

Over 1,600 tons.....	284
Under 1,600 tons.....	102
Fishing vessels.....	78

It is stated that the average tonnage of vessels of over 1,600 tons is 4,500. On that basis 1,278,000 tons of British shipping has been destroyed in three months, or an average of 426,000 tons per month. Add the ships under 1,600 tons and the fishing vessels, and it is certain the average tonnage lost is considerably under 500,000—probably about 470,000—tons a month.

French official figures show the following losses:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended June 17... 0	5	0	
Week ended June 24... 2	3	0	
Total for two weeks.. 2	8	0	

Complete figures for June showed the loss of fourteen ships. Later dispatches from Paris report two steamers of the Messageries Maritimes sunk, the Himalaya, 5,620 tons, on July 1, and the Caedonien, 4,140 tons, on July 10.

Italian ships lost included two steamers and five sailing ships during the week ended June 17, one steamer, eight small sailing vessels, and four fishing barks during the week ended July 1, and one steamer and four small sailing vessels during the week ended July 15.

Norwegian ships reported lost included three steamers of 2,829 tons, 2,798 tons, and 1,458 tons, respectively. The Argentine steamer Toro, 1,141 tons, was torpedoed and sunk off Gibraltar.

Greek shipping has suffered heavily, according to a report received by the State Department at Washington and published on June 23. Twelve Greek ships, with a total tonnage of 31,542, valued at \$4,592,000, had been sunk by German and Austrian submarines since April 1.

To the foregoing should be added American losses. No complete official figures have yet been published, but news dispatches and reports received by marine insurance companies mention the sinking of eight vessels with a total tonnage of 38,345, between June 12 and July 16. The eight vessels were the Kansan, Haverford, Bay State, Moreni, Petrolite, Massapequa, Orleans, and Grace. Some smaller vessels were also destroyed during the period mentioned.

The conflict of opinion is evidenced by a statement on July 13 by Admiral La-

caze, the French Minister of Marine. He said in part:

It is true we are suffering considerable losses, but every month increases our certainty of being able to repair them. Furthermore, we are in a position to stand these losses, as a large part in new construction will be taken by the United States. The shipbuilding already under way, the effect of which will naturally only be felt after a certain time, is great enough to replace the highest average of destruction the submarines are likely to reach.

Never in peace times have the entries into French ports been so numerous as now. The German authorities exaggerate the results of the submarine activity by from 30 to 50 per cent., while the French statistics are absolutely correct. The curve representing the tonnage sunk does not mount steadily, but rises and falls. We know, too, that the Germans find great difficulty in obtaining trained crews for submarines.

On the other hand, Senator Marconi, the inventor and a member of the Italian War Mission, stated in an interview while in New York City that the submarine situation was becoming increasingly serious. Speaking of the Mediter-

anean he described how the larger U-boats go through the Strait of Gibraltar and how the smaller ones are constructed in Germany and sent by rail to Pola, the Austrian naval base on the Adriatic, where they are put together and sent to sea. The Italian Navy had between 300 and 400 patrol boats on duty trying to cope with the submarine menace.

A German Admiralty statement published on June 30 asserted that the total tonnage available for Great Britain's supply of food, munitions, and materials, based upon two independent sets of figures, was 10,000,000, including new construction, confiscated German ships, and purchases from neutrals. More than 5,500,000 tons of this total had been destroyed up to June 1, leaving 4,500,000, or, at the utmost, 5,000,000 tons then available. With a further loss of 800,000 to 1,000,000 tons a month, the German Admiralty believed that it could be confidently expected that Great Britain would be brought to a point where she would be willing to make peace.

Great Britain's Royal Family Now the House of Windsor

KING GEORGE of Great Britain, at a meeting of the Privy Council held in St. James's Palace July 17, 1917, announced that the name of his royal house and family had been changed from Saxe-Coburg and Gotha to "the House of Windsor."

Those present on this historic occasion included Premier Lloyd George, Foreign Secretary Balfour, and other members of the Cabinet; the Archbishop of Canterbury, ex-Premier Asquith, and all members of the Colonial Government who were then in London. The Privy Council unanimously indorsed King George's announcement, and the proclamation putting it into effect was published that afternoon. It says:

We out of our royal will and authority

do hereby declare and announce that as from the date of our royal proclamation our house and family shall be styled and known as the House and Family of Windsor, and that all descendants in the male line of our grandmother, Queen Victoria, who are subjects of these realms, other than the female descendants who may marry or may have married, shall bear the said name of Windsor.

And we do hereby declare and announce that we for ourselves, and for and on behalf of our descendants and all other descendants of our grandmother, Queen Victoria, who are subjects of these realms, relinquish and enjoin the discontinuance of the use of degrees, styles, dignities, titles, and honors of the Dukes and Duchesses of Saxony and the Princes and Princesses of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and all other German degrees, styles, dignities, titles, and honors, and the appellation to us or to them heretofore belonging or appertaining.

What the American Navy Has Done

Summary by Secretary Daniels

Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, made the following statement to a representative of THE NEW YORK TIMES, summarizing the naval progress of the United States in war measures up to June 24, 1917:

THE policy of the United States Navy is simply to do at at any given moment the thing most effective to win the war for our allies and ourselves. As to the specific things we have done so far and are still doing in accordance with that policy, I can mention four. We have armed and manned with navy gun crews about 200 merchant ships, and are increasing the number daily. We have sent our destroyers to the other side to help the British fleet in the war on the submarines, and will send more. We are taking over the cruiser patrol of the Atlantic Coast on this side of the ocean from Brazil to Newfoundland. We have trained our naval gunners in the most difficult marksmanship in the world, until they have become as efficient in training a small gun on a distant, hardly visible, and constantly moving periscope as they are in shooting the big turret guns at a target as big as a battleship. And a big work for the navy that is in the future will be the convoying of our troops.

The arming of the merchantmen came before this country had entered the war, and was ordered by the President. This was a new problem for the navy, something which never had been contemplated before by the United States Government, and it was not the easiest thing in the world to find all the guns that were needed. Some of them we had to take from ships of the navy. Then the owners of the merchant vessels called upon us to furnish the gun crews. From the mere technical navy viewpoint that was not the thing to do. We needed the men on our naval vessels, but it proved to be the next thing that had to be done; so we manned every armed merchant ship with efficient gunners. I gave orders that none

but the best marksmen in the navy should be sent into this new service because of the extreme difficulties of the shooting they were to be called upon to do. So it meant a temporary drain on the battleship crews.

To some of the larger merchant vessels I sent as many as sixteen men each. But this has turned out to be one of the best things the navy has ever done because of the training it has afforded in the new kind of shooting that has become necessary in this war. Every battleship has become a school for marksmanship with a periscope as the target, and with remarkable results. Previously all the emphasis had been placed on the necessity of accuracy in working the big guns in the turrets, with the result that the American Navy had the best records of the world at big-gun practice. Needless to say, we are not neglecting that turret work or acquiring our skill in shooting submarines at the expense of our preparation for fighting bigger ships if the opportunity comes. Up to the present time the dreadnoughts have no work in this war except to wait in complete readiness for the big thing that they may be called upon to do. In that respect our fleet would be a fair match for the Germans, even assuming the apparently impossible situation in which we, alone, would be called upon to engage in a great sea fight off our own coast.

Another big educational work now in progress on the battleships is the training of the engine and fire room crews so that they will be ready for efficient service aboard the big merchant ships that will be used later on for the transportation of our troops. America, as a nation, has become so lacking in what you may call a seagoing personnel that we have to look to the navy as the source of supply in any big emergency.

The next service undertaken by the navy was the sending of our destroyers over to the other side for actual participation in the hostilities at sea. This was

done in spite of the theory that the place of the destroyers was with the battleship, that every dreadnought should have at least four destroyers to act as her eyes and scouts, and screen her with their smoke. But a great many former theories have had to be revised in this war; so we sent the type of craft that, under normal conditions, would have been the last to go, and our allies were greatly elated by our decision.

Both the English and French Commissions told us that the smaller vessels of our navy would be the most useful to them, and they expressed the hope that we might be able to send destroyers, although they did not expect it. But after consultation with Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, and later with Admiral Mayo, Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Fleet, I ordered the destroyers to go, even though it seemed a somewhat risky thing to do.

In addition to the destroyers, we have sent over enough fuel and supply ships to serve our own naval vessels without calling on the Allies, and we also have placed several of our small craft at the disposal of France. These latter ships are already there, and the number will be increased. We have two bases established on the French coast. Still more, we have sent over 100 navy aviators to France, and are now preparing to establish two hospital units in England and one in France.

Of course, I cannot say how many destroyers were sent, but there were enough to be effective, and more will go later. Sixty new destroyers for the American Navy are now under construction. The time allowed for their completion has been cut from the customary eighteen months to one year. We hope to have them on time within the shorter period.

But I can say of our ships now on the other side that they are all manned by picked officers and men. Nobody was allowed to go on this expedition who had not had experience on destroyers, which is in these days the hardest and most exacting service in the navy. But it develops a wonderful breed of men. They are young, alert, ambitious. The Captain of a destroyer is generally a Lieutenant Com-

mander, and it is a great thing for a youngster of that rank to be in command of his own ship. The best of them strive for it, and the other officers of the destroyer are of the same stamp, and the personnel of the crew is a good match for them. It was because of the quality of these officers and men and because of the splendid construction and equipment of the ships themselves that they were able to surprise the English with the statement that they were ready to go to work immediately upon their arrival on the other side. The spirit of the men in this part of the navy had been greatly improved by the organizing of the destroyers into a flotilla of their own, and they had had the great inspiration of serving under Admiral Sims when he was in command of that flotilla, and later under Admiral Gleaves.

It was Sims who declared at a dinner in London about fifteen years ago that blood was thicker than water and that if war ever came England could count upon America as an ally. Germany resented that officially through diplomatic channels, and Sims was reprimanded. Of course, he should have been reprimanded. I told him so myself not so very long ago, and then selected him to go to England and France before America entered the war. Even then I thought I could see the clouds and felt the need of getting in touch with the British and French Admiralties. Sims was the youngest Rear Admiral in the service. It was for that reason a violation of another tradition to select him, but he has been the right man in the right place, both from our point of view and that of our allies, which, after all, is the same point of view in everything we undertake.

As to the fourth thing I mentioned, the coast patrol, that is as thorough as we can make it and is under the command of one of our ablest officers, Captain Henry B. Wilson, who is soon to be made an Admiral. In addition to the big naval vessels assigned to this patrol, there are small craft on guard, which will be steadily increased in number. These, together with the Coast Guard and Lighthouse Services, the Navy Department has taken over for the purpose of more

efficient coast protection. There is not a harbor, not even a cove, between Brazil and Newfoundland that we do not know about. We have investigated many reports and rumors that the Germans had submarine bases on this coast, but none has been discovered.

To do all this work has put a tremendous pressure on the officers and men of the navy. We need more of both, in spite of the recent big increases. By graduating two classes at Annapolis far ahead of their time we have gained 380 new officers, and the enlisted strength of the navy has increased from 53,000 to 120,928 since the beginning of the year. By the end of the year we must have 150,000

men, the limit fixed by the law as it stands today. I have no doubt about getting these men, thanks to the new plan of dividing the country into fourteen naval districts and the perfecting of the recruiting organization in each of those districts. One big factor in our favor is the greatly improved chance which the enlisted man now has to become an officer. I am now authorized by law to appoint 100 enlisted men to Annapolis every year, so the chance of the man who enters the navy as a sailor to become an Admiral is now much more than a pleasant fiction. Last year an appointee from the ranks was the President of his class at the Academy.

Embargo on Exports of Food and Other Commodities

ACTING under the authority conferred on him by the Espionage act, President Wilson has adopted drastic and far-reaching war measures for the control of exports from the United States. By an executive order, dated June 22, 1917, he established an Exports Council "to formulate policies for the consideration and approval of the President, and make the recommendations necessary to carry out the purposes" of the Espionage act. The members appointed to form the Exports Council were:

Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State.
Mr. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce.
Mr. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture.
Mr. Hoover, Food Administrator.

The administrative end of the work was assigned to Secretary Redfield and the Commerce Department.

In a statement issued on June 25, President Wilson made it quite clear that the work of the Exports Council would be merely advisory, and that there would be no prohibition of exports. The statement continued:

The whole object will be to direct exports in such a way that they will go first and by preference where they are most needed and most immediately needed, and temporarily to withhold them, if necessary, where they can best be spared.

Our primary duty in the matter of

foodstuffs and like necessities is to see to it that the peoples associated with us in the war get as generous a proportion as possible of our surplus, but it will also be our wish and purpose to supply the neutral nations whose peoples depend upon us for such supplies as nearly in proportion to their need as the amount to be divided permits.

There will thus be little check put upon the volume of exports, and the prices obtained for them will not be affected by this regulation.

This policy will be carried out, not by prohibitive regulations, therefore, but by a system of licensing exports.

The Government is taking, or has taken, steps to ascertain, for example, just what the available present supply of wheat and corn is remaining from the crops of last year; to learn from each of the countries exporting these foodstuffs from the United States what their purchases in this country now are and where they are stored, and what their needs are, in order that we may adjust things, so far as possible, to our own needs and free stocks; and this information is in course of being rapidly supplied.

The step by which the President assumed absolute control of exports of essential wartime commodities was taken in a proclamation dated July 9 and brought into operation on July 15. It provided that none of the commodities named might be exported except under license. Fifty-six nations and their possessions, including allied, neutral, and

enemy countries, were specified as those to which the licensing system applied. The commodities named were coal, coke, fuel oils, kerosene, and gasoline, including bunkers, food grains, flour and meal, fodder and feeds, meats and fats, pig iron, steel billets, ship plates and structural shapes, scrap iron and scrap steel, ferro-manganese, fertilizers, arms, ammunition and explosives.

Immediately after issuing the proclamation the President made a statement in the course of which he said:

In controlling by license the export of certain indispensable commodities from the United States, the Government has first and chiefly in view the amelioration of the food conditions which have arisen or are likely to arise in our own country before new crops are harvested. Not only is the conservation of our prime food and fodder supplies a matter which vitally concerns our own people, but the retention of an adequate supply of raw materials is essential to our program of military and naval construction and the continuance of our necessary domestic activities. We shall therefore similarly safeguard all our fundamental supplies.

The statement added that the Government did not want to hamper neutral nations, but rather to co-operate with them so long as supplies from the United States would not become available, either directly or indirectly, to feed the enemy.

A Bureau of Export Licenses, as part of the Department of Commerce, was immediately created, and its organization completed by creating a division of war trade intelligence with Paul Fuller, Jr., of New York as its head. Mr. Fuller is widely known as an international lawyer, and has served as a special agent abroad for President Wilson. As a member of the Haitian Commission he helped reorganize Haiti's fiscal system. The Intelligence Division is charged with keeping the Government informed of the movement of American exports after they reach foreign shores.

The action of the United States Government was warmly approved by the Allies. Lord Rhondda, the British Food Controller, said that the President's action was typical of the way in which the United States had thrown itself into the war. Public opinion in England generally welcomed the embargo as a means

of tightening the blockade of Germany. The neutral nations of Europe, particularly Holland and the Scandinavian countries, however, viewed these measures with feelings of something more than misgiving, believing that the effect would be to reduce their necessary supplies of food and raw materials. Attempts were made to refute the accusation that the neutral countries were helping Germany with their own supplies and also importing commodities for re-export to Germany. The whole of this controversy, which has been in progress since the early months of the war, was revived in an acute form.

A request was made to the United States by the British Government on June 28, 1917, for the adoption of measures to prevent neutral countries contiguous to the Central Powers from importing anything beyond their needs, so that little or nothing could be sent into the enemy countries. Viscount Milner, member of the British War Cabinet, said in the House of Lords on July 4 that there was undoubtedly still a considerable amount of exporting from the neutral countries into Germany, but it was entirely the neutrals' own home products.

The news of the impending embargo on exports from the United States caused considerable alarm in Sweden. E. B. Trolle, former Foreign Minister and now President of the Swedish Government War Trade Commission, made a statement on July 6 in reply to the assertions that Sweden's imports were not intended solely for Swedish consumption. He said in part:

Official statistics of Sweden's importations for 1916, which are now nearly complete, demonstrate conclusively the absolute erroneousness of assertions that we have been bringing in American products for the purpose of passing them on to the Central Powers. In several instances our total importations from America show a decided decrease compared with 1913, the last normal year, and in many instances in which our imports from the United States have increased, this increase has fallen considerably short of making good the deficit caused by the decrease or total discontinuance of our pre-war importations from belligerent countries.

A Paris paper recently said that exports

to Scandinavia and Switzerland rose from \$40,000,000 in 1913 to \$183,000,000 in 1916. Leading American papers have published similar statistics and have maintained that the increase was largely due to the fact that Sweden had been re-exporting to Germany. This assertion will not stand the test of examination.

I may remind you that a considerable part of the merchandise mentioned in the American export statistics never reached us, having been detained by the British, and hence this cannot be considered.

Let us consider first the group showing the greatest increase. This embraces agricultural products, and, in particular, cereals. It is a fact that our importations of cereals from the United States in 1916 showed an increase of 72,846,000 crowns over 1913, but it must not be forgotten that in 1913 we imported 55,000,000 crowns' worth of cereals from Germany, whereas we did not bring in a crown's worth last year. Nor must it be forgotten that an increase in the value of products imported by no means indicates an increase in the quantity, in view of the tremendous rise in prices. As a matter of fact, our total imports of cereals in 1916 amounted to only 355,000 tons, against 515,000 in 1913.

I could continue similar citations, but these show the hollowness of assertions regarding our imports from the United States.

As against these explanations an official report made to the United States Government and published on July 8 showed the extent to which Sweden was furnishing supplies to Germany. Large quantities of materials used in the manufacture of war supplies figured prominently in the report. Iron ore shipments from Sweden to Germany have reached a total of 9,000,000 tons, all of the high grade required in the production of fine steel, and representing an amount equal to Sweden's entire pre-war export. In addition to this, the report stated that

Sweden had shipped to Germany 15,000 tons of ferro-silicon and ferro-manganese for hardening shells, together with large quantities of copper, zinc, manganese, sulphur, and other ores. Germany had also imported from Sweden in two years fully 200,000 tons of wood pulp for use as a basis for cellulose, used instead of cotton for the manufacture of high explosives, and large quantities of ball-bearings for use in the manufacture of war vehicles and submarines.

Another charge against Sweden made in the report was that she had discriminated against the Allies in the use of her railroads. Agricultural machinery destined for Russia had been held up for months, Sweden exacting from Russia extraordinary bargains before delivery was permitted.

A similar report was made in regard to large quantities of American cotton, said to have been passed on by neutrals to Germany for use in making high explosives. Neutrals are believed to have taken 90,000,000 pounds of cotton over and above their own requirements since the war began. The United States Government therefore is considering the laying of an export ban on that commodity.

On July 13 the State Department requested the neutrals contiguous to Germany to furnish this Government with complete information concerning their production and supplies of foodstuffs, the amount exported, to what countries exported, and their estimates as to their minimum import requirements. This information, supplemented by statistics already in the possession of the Exports Council, will determine the amount of exports to go from the United States to those countries.

Text of President Wilson's Appeal Against Profiteering

PRESIDENT WILSON has insisted from the beginning that the large business interests of the country should be content with normal profits, instead of excessive wartime profits, upon all supplies and materials entering

into the Government's prosecution of the war. The recommendation of the Federal Trade Commission (June 20) that the railroads, coal mines, and coke-producing companies be operated by the Government was one of the more radical

steps by which the authorities have sought to bring about a definite understanding on the whole range of wartime prices. On July 11, 1917, the President issued the following extraordinary appeal to the business interests of the country:

MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

The Government is about to attempt to determine the prices at which it will ask you henceforth to furnish various supplies which are necessary for the prosecution of the war and various materials which will be needed in the industries by which the war must be sustained. We shall, of course, try to determine them justly and to the best advantage of the nation as a whole, but justice is easier to speak of than to arrive at, and there are some considerations which I hope we shall keep steadily in mind while this particular problem of justice is being worked out. I, therefore, take the liberty of stating very candidly my own view of the situation and of the principles which should guide both the Government and the mine owners and manufacturers of the country in this difficult matter.

A just price must, of course, be paid for everything the Government buys. By a just price I mean a price which will sustain the industries concerned in a high state of efficiency, provide a living for those who conduct them, enable them to pay good wages, and make possible the expansions of their enterprises which will from time to time become necessary as the stupendous undertakings of this great war develop. We could not wisely or reasonably do less than pay such prices. They are necessary for the maintenance and development of industry, and the maintenance and development of industry are necessary for the great task we have in hand.

But I trust that we shall not surround the matter with a mist of sentiment. Facts are our masters now. We ought not to put the acceptance of such prices on the ground of patriotism. Patriotism has nothing to do with profits in a case like this. Patriotism and profits ought never in the present circumstances be mentioned together. It is perfectly proper to discuss profits as a matter of business, with a view to maintaining the integrity of capital and the efficiency of labor in these tragical months when the liberty of free men everywhere and of industry itself trembles in the balance, but it would be absurd to discuss them as a motive for helping to serve and save our country.

Patriotism leaves profits out of the question. In these days of our supreme trial, when we are sending hundreds of thousands of our young men across the seas to serve a great cause, no true man who stays behind to work for them and sus-

tain them by his labor will ask himself what he is personally going to make out of that labor. No true patriot will permit himself to take toll of their heroism in money or seek to grow rich by the shedding of their blood. He will give as freely and with as unstinted self-sacrifice as they. When they are giving their lives will he not at least give his money?

I hear it insisted that more than a just price, more than a price that will sustain our industries, must be paid; that it is necessary to pay very liberal and unusual profits in order to "stimulate production"; that nothing but pecuniary rewards will do—rewards paid in money, not in the mere liberation of the world.

I take it for granted that those who argue thus do not stop to think what that means. Do they mean that you must be paid, must be bribed, to make your contribution, a contribution that costs you neither a drop of blood nor a tear, when the whole world is in travail and men everywhere depend upon and call to you to bring them out of bondage and make the world a fit place to live in again amidst peace and justice? Do they mean that you will exact a price, drive a bargain with the men who are enduring the agony of this war on the battlefield, in the trenches, amidst the lurking dangers of the sea, or with the bereaved women and pitiful children, before you will come forward to do your duty and give some part of your life, in easy peaceful fashion, for the things we are fighting for, the things we have pledged our fortunes, our lives, our sacred honor, to vindicate and defend—liberty and justice and fair dealing and the peace of nations?

Of course you will not. It is inconceivable. Your patriotism is of the same self-denying stuff as the patriotism of the men dead or maimed on the fields of France, or else it is no patriotism at all. Let us never speak, then, of profits and of patriotism in the same sentence, but face facts and meet them. Let us do sound business, but not in the midst of a mist. Many a grievous burden of taxation will be laid on this nation, in this generation and in the next, to pay for this war. Let us see to it that for every dollar that is taken from the people's pockets it shall be possible to obtain a dollar's worth of the sound stuffs they need.

Let me turn for a moment to the ship owners of the United States and the other ocean carriers whose example they have followed and ask them if they realize what obstacles, what almost insuperable obstacles, they have been putting in the way of the successful prosecution of this war by the ocean freight rates they have been exacting. They are doing everything that high freight charges can do to make the war a failure, to make it impossible. I do not say that they realize

this or intend it. The thing has happened naturally enough, because the commercial processes which we are content to see operate in ordinary times have, without sufficient thought, been continued into a period where they have no proper place. I am not questioning motives. I am merely stating a fact, and stating it in order that attention may be fixed upon it.

The fact is that those who have fixed war freight rates have taken the most effective means in their power to defeat the armies engaged against Germany. When they realize this, we may—I take it for granted—count upon them to reconsider the whole matter. It is high time. Their extra hazards are covered by war risk insurance.

I know, and you know, what response to this great challenge of duty and of opportunity the nation will expect of you; and I know what response you will make. Those who do not respond, who do not respond in the spirit of those who have gone to give their lives for us on bloody fields far away, may safely be left to be dealt with by opinion and the law—for the law must, of course, command these things. I am dealing with the matter thus publicly and frankly, not because I have any doubt or fear as to the result, but only in order that in all our thinking and in all our dealings with one another we may move in a perfectly clear air of mutual understanding.

And there is something more that we must add to our thinking. The public is now as much part of the Government as are the army and navy themselves; the

whole people in all their activities are now mobilized and in service for the accomplishment of the nation's task in this war; it is in such circumstances impossible justly to distinguish between industrial purchases made by the Government and industrial purchases made by the managers of individual industries; and it is just as much our duty to sustain the industries of the country, all the industries that contribute to its life, as to sustain our forces in the field and on the sea. We must make the prices to the public the same as the prices to the Government.

Prices mean the same thing everywhere now. They mean the efficiency or the inefficiency of the nation, whether it is the Government that pays them or not. They mean victory or defeat. They mean that America will win her place once for all among the foremost free nations of the world, or that she will sink to defeat and become a second-rate power alike in thought and in action. This is a day of her reckoning and every man amongst us must personally face that reckoning along with her.

The case needs no arguing. I assume that I am only expressing your own thoughts—what must be in the mind of every true man when he faces the tragedy and the solemn glory of the present war for the emancipation of mankind. I summon you to a great duty, a great privilege, a shining dignity and distinction. I shall expect every man who is not a slacker to be at my side throughout this great enterprise. In it no man can win honor who thinks of himself.

One Source of Germany's Poison Gases

A pamphlet on the field work conducted by and for the Smithsonian Institution states that while carrying on botanical explorations in Venezuela in the Fall of 1916 Dr. J. N. Rose, Associate Curator of Plants in the National Museum, secured some interesting specimens of *sabadilla*, a Venezuelan plant of the lily family, from the seeds of which are produced some of the asphyxiating and tear-producing gases used by the Germans in the present war.

The specimens were secured by Dr. Rose through the co-operation of Consul Homer Brett, La Guaira, Venezuela, who stated in a report of the Department of Commerce that this plant is known locally as *cevadilla*, a diminutive of the Spanish word *cebada*, meaning barley, and occurs in Venezuela and Mexico. Its highly poisonous seeds have long been used in medicine. The substances produced from *sabadilla* seed are *cavadine*, or crystallized *veratric*, an alkaloid; *veratric acid*, and *sabadalline*, a heart stimulant.

The dust from the seed in the field irritated the eyes, throat, and especially the nose, so much that the native laborers were obliged to wear masks. It has been reported that the Germans had bought all the available supply of these seeds before the declaration of war. Both the *sabadilla* seeds and all preparations compounded from them are now, however, declared contraband by England.

China Foils a Royalist Coup

Attempt to Restore the Manchu Emperor

THE first chapter of the rebellion in China closed on June 24, 1917, when a compromise was arranged between the rebels and the Constitutional leaders, which appeared to have bridged over the principal difficulties without recourse to bloodshed. President Li Yuan-hung's dissolution of Parliament on June 14, although against the counsel of Dr. George Morrison, his British constitutional adviser, and deeply resented throughout South China, was on that day accepted by the southern leaders on the understanding that a new election of both houses of Parliament would be held soon without military interference.

Li Ching-hsi, the President's original appointee to the Premiership in place of Tuan Chi-jui, was accepted by the rebels as Premier, and the beginnings toward a reorganized Cabinet were made with General Wang Shih-cheng, former Chief of Staff, as Minister of War, and Admiral Sah Chen-ping, China's well-known naval leader—who once served on a British battleship—as Minister of the Navy. Negotiations then opened for the rest of the Cabinet posts, and messages from the legations in Peking generally agreed that the civil war between the militarists and the southerners had for the time being been avoided by reassuring and patriotic concessions on both sides.

The world was suddenly amazed to hear on July 1, however, that Hsuan Tung, the little Manchu Emperor, had been put back on the Imperial Throne by the notorious Tartar General, Chang Hsun. On July 2, the young Emperor took possession of the palace occupied by President Li Yuan-hung, and Chang, as his protector, issued an edict explaining that Li Yuan-hung "bemoans his defects and asks us to punish him. We recognize his mistakes and also his merits," the edict continued; "we hereby appoint him Duke of the first class."

Chang Hsun accomplished his coup by concentrating strong divisions of troops

in Peking of what was practically his personal army, and he carried out the final arrangements, including the conveying of the little Emperor to the Forbidden City, at 3 o'clock on Sunday morning, July 1. Though the rest of the country, even the hitherto reactionary rebel Generals, began at once to stir to the defense of the republic, Chang Hsun continued to issue edicts from Peking, promising, among other things, an administration according to the constitutional laws promulgated by the Manchus, the forbidding



GENERAL CHANG HSUN
Chinese Dictator

of all blood Princes to interfere in politics, enforcement of all foreign treaties and contracts, abolition of distinction and permission of marriage between Manchus and Chinese, the pardoning of all political offenders, and the optional wearing of the queue. The expenses of the Imperial household were to remain the same as under the republic, (which has treated the Manchu family with the status of "visiting royalty.") Chang Hsun was appointed Viceroy of Chihli, the position held by Li Hung-chang un-

der the Dowager Empress when Chang Hsun was a Tartar General in her service. The nominee to the office of Foreign Affairs was Liang Tun-yen, Minister to America in 1911, a famous emissary on foreign diplomacy under the Manchus, and Yuan Shih-kai's late Minister of Communications.

So rapid was the concentration of the republican armies on Peking, however, that by July 5 this romantic Manchu restoration was already on the verge of collapse. No important leader in China came to Chang Hsun's relief; and no armies from either North or South China repaired to his imperial standard. His 30,000 troops were faced on the 5th of July by more than 50,000, with many thousands of others hurrying up from the south and west. By the 8th, exactly a week after his sensational re-entry into the public life of the world, the Manchu Emperor accepted Chang Hsun's resignation and abdicated from his throne. The armies continued to close in, however, and on July 9 Chang Hsun handed over the

administration of the City of Peking to General Wang Shih-cheng, the Minister of War, fighting having meanwhile taken place at the village of Lang Fang, south of the city.

The republican troops entered the city in force on the 11th, and hemmed in Chang Hsun and his fast dwindling troops in the imperial city. Large numbers of these were captured, and the final flight of Chang Hsun from the capital was reported on the 14th, at which time the city had again been taken over by the police gendarmerie, who had successfully prevented looting.

Meanwhile, Vice President Feng Kuochang had succeeded temporarily to the Presidency on July 7, and had administered the republican Government since that time from Nanking. The failure of Chang Hsun's imperial coup caused the situation to revert to the compromise of June 24, on the basis of which it is expected, now that republicanism is assured, the reorganization of the Government may continue in China.

"We Grazed the Very Edge of Cowardice"

Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, retorting on July 14 to Senator Stone's assertion that "we are in the war unwisely," delivered a speech in the Senate in which he said:

The President and the Administration did do everything that human intellect could conceive for the purpose, if possible, of bringing an end to the war. We did everything we had a right to do. The President came to this Chamber and made that speech which was criticised, not only abroad but here in this Chamber, as being a "peace-at-any-price" speech—the celebrated speech in which he said we must have peace without victory.

The President traveled the whole gamut, up and down. He allowed this nation to suffer humiliation after humiliation, shame piled upon shame—grazed the very edge of cowardice because his heart beat in unison with the cause of a just and lasting peace.

Now we are in it, we have got to see it through—not only to a successful issue of this war, but, while we are about it, to a just and permanent treaty which shall as far as possible make war cease to be a game of national athletes.

We have got to see it through to a point where the world can hope that there will be peace for some generations—at any rate to a point where the civilized world shall say to any nation which goes to war without having previously submitted the cause in controversy, or proposed to submit it, to fair and impartial arbitration: "You are an outlaw nation. You are no longer within the pale of international law. You are everybody's enemy, and we shall treat you as such until you come back to your senses."

We do not propose in time of peace to prepare for war, always. We propose now in time of war to prepare for peace, and for a just and lasting peace, and we are going through with it with men and money and ships, on land and on sea, and in the air, and above the land and sea and under the sea, until we have seen it through not only to peace, but to a just and lasting peace, a righteous peace.

War Aims and Peace Terms Restated

Official Utterances of Premier Lloyd George, Baron Sonnino,
and Other Ministers

David Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, made a noteworthy speech before the Burgesses in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on June 29, 1917. The most significant passages were aimed at the German Social Democratic peace program as stated at Stockholm, and were as follows:

NEVER have good men stood more in need of sympathy, support, and co-operation than the men who are guiding the fate of the nation in this hour in all lands. They were called to the helm in a raging tornado, the most destructive that ever swept over the world on land or sea. Great Britain so far has weathered the storm. She has successfully ridden the waves, but the hurricane is not yet over and it will need all the efforts, all the skill, all the patience and all the courage and endurance of all on board to steer the country through without foundering in the angry deep.

But with the co-operation of everybody we should get through once again. It is a satisfaction that Great Britain had no share in the responsibility for these grim events. Our part was as honorable and as chivalrous a part as was ever taken by any country in any war. The people must be sustained by the unswerving conviction that no part of the guilt for this terrible bloodshed rests on the conscience of their native land.

The story of the early days of the war is not that of the wolf and the lamb, for Germany, expecting to find a lamb, found a lion. * * *

In my judgment the war will come to an end when the allied armies have reached the aims which they set out to attain when they accepted the challenge thrown down by Germany. As soon as these objectives have been reached and guaranteed, this war will come to an end, but if the war comes to an end a

single minute before, it will be the greatest disaster that has ever befallen mankind.

No doubt we can have peace now at a price. Germany wants peace—even Prussia ardently desires it. They said give us some indemnity for the wrongs we have done, just a little territory here and a little there and just a few privileges in other directions, and we will clear out. We are told that if we are prepared to make peace now Germany will restore the independence of Belgium. But who has said so?

No German statesman has ever said he would restore the independence of Belgium. The German Chancellor came very near to it, but all the Junkers fell on him and he received a sound box on the ears from the mailed fist.

The only terms on which Germany has suggested restoring Belgium are not those of independence, but of vassalage. Then came the doctrine of the status quo and no annexation and no indemnities. No German statesman has accepted even that.

But what did indemnity mean? Indemnity is an essential part of the mechanism of civilization in every land and clime. Otherwise what guarantee have we against a repetition? Then it is said, "That is not what you are after. You are after our colonies, and probably Palestine and Mesopotamia." If we had entered into this war purely for the German colonies we would not have raised an army of 3,000,000 or 4,000,000. We could have got them without adding a single battalion to the army.

Our greatest army is in France. We are there to recover for the people who have been driven out of their patrimony the land which belonged to them.

As to Mesopotamia, it is not and never has been Turkish. You have only

to read the terrible reports to see what a wilderness the Turks have made of the Garden of Eden. What is to happen to Mesopotamia must be left to the peace conference, and there is one thing that will never happen to it. It will never be restored to the blasting tyranny of the Turks. The same observation applies to Armenia.

As to the German colonies, that again is a matter which must be settled by the great international peace conference. When we come to settle who must be the future trustees of those uncivilized lands we must take into account the sentiments of the peoples themselves and whether they are anxious to secure the return of their former masters or whether they would rather trust their destinies to other and juster and gentler hands. The wishes, desires, and interests of the peoples themselves of those countries must be the dominant factors in settling their future government.

Peace must be framed on so equitable a basis that the nations would not wish to disturb it. It must be guaranteed by destruction of Prussian military power, so that the confidence of the German people shall be put in the equity of their cause and not in the might of their armies. A better guarantee than either would be democratization of the German Government.

No one wishes to dictate to the German people the form of government under which they should choose to live. But it is right that we should say that we will enter into negotiations with a free Government of Germany with a different attitude of mind and a different temper and different spirit and with less suspicion and more confidence than we should with a Government whom we feel today to be dominated by the aggressive and arrogant spirit of Prussian militarism.

All the allied Governments will, in my judgment, be acting wisely if they draw that distinction in their general attitude toward the discussion of peace terms.

As to the military situation, there is no doubt that the startling developments in Russia have modified the military situation this year temporarily to our

disadvantage, but permanently for the better. What happened on the western front showed what could have been accomplished this year if all the allied forces had been ready to bring all-round pressure to bear.

In training, equipment, and experience our army is infinitely better than it ever has been. The finest collection of trench-pounding machines which any army has ever seen is now in the possession of the British forces.

The Russian revolution, beneficent as it undoubtedly is, great as will be its results both this year and even more hereafter, undoubtedly has had the effect of postponing complete victory. But Russia will regain her strength with a bound, and become mightier and more formidable than ever. * * *

The strength of Great Britain, once more flung into the breach, has once more saved Europe and human liberty. But now Russia is gaining strength every day. It has a capable Government. It never had a better one, and her power in the future will be inspired by freedom.

America, always the mainstay of freedom, is beginning to send her valiant sons to the battlefields of Europe to rally around the standard of liberty. That is why victory now is more assured and more complete than we could have hoped for.

Victory is assured under two conditions. The first is that the German submarine attacks must be defeated or kept within reasonable bounds.

The losses are heavy. They may, and probably will, drive us to further restrictions in some trades and perhaps to hardships. That all depends on the nation, for, after carefully reckoning the chances and the possibilities, the Government has come to the conclusion, based on best advice, that submarines can neither starve us at home nor drive our armies out of the field abroad. Our losses during May and June were heavy, but they were hundreds of thousands of tons beneath the Admiralty forecast.

We are beginning to get them. Arrangements also have been made for

frustrating them and for destroying them. I have no hesitation in saying that if we all do our part the German submarine will be almost as great a failure as the German Zeppelin.

If we do not waste we shall not starve. We have succeeded in increasing the food supply, and we are engaged in a great shipbuilding program for fighting and for carrying purposes. If every employer and every workman would pull together, between them they would pull us through. * * *

Sonnino On Italy's War Aims

Baron Sonnino, the Italian Minister of War, addressing the Chamber of Deputies at Rome on June 21, 1917, declared that Italy did not aspire to frontiers constituting a menace to any neighboring State, but was seeking a bulwark adequate to protect the independence of a pacific country. He said, in part:

The hour is solemn for our country. We cannot deny that. By the prolongation of the war general conditions have become worse day by day, and they have become even more disagreeable for the nations aspiring now, or who may be expected to aspire, to an equitable and durable peace. It must be equitable to prove durable—a peace which will mark an advance in the march of civilization. It is to obtain such a peace that we appeal to the entire nation without distinction of rank, sex or age, asking that each continue his efforts in the sacred name of all our brothers who have given their health or life for the common cause.

Every momentary weakness, every hesitation, might render useless the steps which have been taken up to the present amid so many arduous difficulties and innumerable sacrifices, and might even imperil the victorious outcome.

Italy counts today absolutely upon the devotion of her sons, upon their actions, their words, and their sublime spirit of self-abnegation.

Baron Sonnino pointed out that it was impossible for the country of Mazzini and Garibaldi to accept a peace which

Europe is again drenched with the blood of its bravest and its best, but do not forget the great succession of hallowed causes. They are the stations of the cross on the road to the emancipation of mankind. I again appeal to the people of this country and beyond that they should continue to fight for the great goal of international rights and international justice, so that never again shall brute force sit on the throne of justice nor barbaric strength wield the sceptre over liberty.

should leave a country under foreign oppression, which should exclude all reparation for all the iniquities and violent cruelties endured by Belgium, which, by implication, should tolerate the organized extermination of the Armenians by the Turks, and stand in the way of a unified and independent Poland. Baron Sonnino continued:

Would that ever be a peace such as has been proposed by President Wilson, which his memorable message guaranteed for the future and for which the United States has chivalrously drawn the sword? It would be an insult to suppose so. The objective for which all our politics are striving and by which all our warfare is being guided is peace, not conquests or imperialism—a desire to assure the country of the future of durable peace and free competition in the development of civilization and material resources. And for a durable peace it is necessary for Italy to have assurance of frontiers according to nationality, a condition which is indispensable to its effective independence.

Far from us is the thought not only of the oppression but also of the debasement of any race or State, far or near, big or little. We seek, on the contrary, to co-operate in the constitution of an equilibrium of power which is a condition and guarantee of reciprocal respect and mutual concessions—essential elements in the liberty and equality of the communal and social life of individuals as of peoples.

French Note to Russia Defining War Aims

Great Britain and France both replied on June 11, 1917, to the Russian proclamation of April 9, restating their war aims in the light of the Russian dictum concerning "no annexations and no in-

demnities." The British reply was printed in the preceding issue of this magazine. The text of the French note is as follows:

It is with entire satisfaction that the Gov-

ernment of the French Republic has taken cognizance of the proclamation of the Russian Provisional Government of April 9, (March 27, Old Style,) which the Russian Ambassador was instructed to communicate to it. The Government of the republic shares the full confidence which the Provisional Government entertains in the restoration of the political, economical, and military forces of the country.

It does not doubt that the measures announced for the improvement of the conditions in which the people mean to carry through to victory the war against an adversary who threatens their national patrimony more than ever, will permit them to drive him from their soil, definitely establish their reconquered liberty, and thus effectively take their part in the common struggle of the Allies. In this way the efforts, which our enemies do not cease to renew, to sow misunderstanding among the Allies, and to obtain credit for the most lying reports regarding their reciprocal decisions, will be rendered vain.

The Government of the French Republic, always confident in the sentiment of its old and faithful ally, is glad to feel itself in full community of ideas with the Russian Government and people regarding the principles by which its policy has not ceased to be inspired during the present conflict. France thinks of oppressing no people and no nationality, not even those of her enemies of today, but she intends that the oppression which has so long weighed upon the world shall be finally destroyed and that the authors of the crimes which will remain for our enemies the shame of this war shall be chastised.

Leaving to her enemies the spirit of conquest and greed by which they are inspired in peace as in war, France will never aspire to snatch any territory from its legitimate owners. Rebuffed in all the efforts which she made to maintain peace, forced to reply by arms to the most unjust of aggressions, she entered the war only to defend her liberty and her national patrimony, and to assure henceforward in the world a respect for the independence of peoples. Just as Russia

proclaimed the restoration of Poland to her former independence, so France hails with joy the effort which is being carried on in different parts of the world by peoples still tied by the bonds of a dependence which has been condemned by history.

ALSACE-LORRAINE

Be it to conquer or recover their national independence, to assert their rights to the respect of an ancient civilization, or to shake this Germanic tyranny ready to weigh so heavily on peoples less advanced on the path of progress, the only end of the war which France looks to is the triumph of right and justice. For herself she intends that her faithful and loyal provinces of Alsace and Lorraine which were snatched from her in the past by violence shall be liberated and shall return to her.

With her allies France will fight until victory in order that they may be assured the complete restoration of their territorial rights and their political and economic independence, as well as reparatory indemnities for the long toll of inhuman and unjustified acts of devastation and the indispensable guarantees against a recurrence of the evils caused by the incessant acts of provocation of our enemies.

The Government of the republic remains, like the Russian people, convinced that it is by drawing inspiration from these principles that the foreign policy of Russia will attain the aims of a people enamored of justice and liberty, and that after a victorious struggle the Allies will be able to create a solid and lasting peace founded on right. The Russian Government may be assured that the French Government is desirous of coming to an understanding with it not only regarding the means for continuing the struggle, but also regarding those for ending it, by examining and settling a common agreement as to the conditions in which they may hope to reach a final settlement in accordance with the ideas by which their conduct in this war is directed.

To this reply was attached the text of the Order of the Day voted on June 5 by the French Chamber of Deputies.

Alsace-Lorraine: The Declaration of Bordeaux

The Order of the Day adopted on June 5, 1917, by the French Chamber of Deputies, at the close of the debate on the Stockholm peace movement, contained this passage:

"Unanimously indorsing the protest made before the National Assembly in 1871 by the representatives of Alsace-Lorraine against the wresting of that territory from France, the Chamber declares that it awaits from the pres-

ent war, which has been imposed upon Europe by the aggression of imperialist Germany, along with the liberation of the invaded provinces, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to the mother country, and the just reparation of damages."

The Declaration of Bordeaux referred to in this Order of the Day was printed in full in the Bulletin des Armées a few days later, and is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

DECLARATION OF BORDEAUX

National Assembly, Session of 1871. Annex to the Official Report of Feb. 16, 1871.

Proposition relative to the declaration of the Deputies of the Departments of the Upper Rhine, Lower Rhine, Moselle, Meurthe, and of the Vosges, in regard to Alsace and Lorraine.

Presented by Messrs Leon Gambetta, Grosjean, Humbert, Kuss, Saglio, H. Varroy, Titot, André, Kablé, Tachard, Rehm, Edouard, Teutsch, Dornès, Hartmann, Ostermann, La Flize, Deschange, Billy, Bardou, Viox, Albrecht, Alfred Koechlin, Charles Boersch, Grandpierre, Chauffour, Rencker, Melsheim, Keller, Brice, Berlet, Schneegans, Ed. Bamberger, Noblott A. Boell, Scheurer-Kestner, Ancevon.

We, the undersigned, French citizens chosen and deputed by the Departments of the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, Moselle, Meurthe, and the Vosges, to bring to the National Assembly of France the expression of the unanimous will of the populations of Alsace and Lorraine, after having met and deliberated, have resolved to proclaim in a solemn declaration their sacred and unalterable rights, in order that the National Assembly, France, and Europe, having under their eyes the prayers and the resolutions of our constituents, can neither commit nor allow to be committed any act that shall attain the rights whose guardianship and defense have been intrusted to us by formal mandate.

DECLARATION

I.—Alsace and Lorraine do not wish to be alienated.

Associated for more than two centuries with France in both good and ill fortune, these two provinces, ceaselessly exposed to the blows of the enemy, have constantly sacrificed themselves for the national welfare; they have sealed with their blood the indissoluble pact that binds them to a united France. Made the subject of dispute today by the pretensions of a foreign aggressor, they affirm in the face of all obstacles and all dangers, under the very yoke of the invader, their unshakable fidelity.

In full unanimity the citizens who remained in their homes, like the soldiers who rallied to the flag, the former by voting, the latter by fighting, have made known to Germany and to the world the immovable will of Alsace and Lorraine to remain French territory.

II.—France can neither consent to nor sign the cession of Alsace and Lorraine.

She cannot, without imperiling her national existence, deal a mortal blow at her own unity by abandoning those who have acquired by two hundred years of patriotic

devotion the right to be defended by the whole country against the aggressions of victorious force.

An assembly, even though a product of universal suffrage, could not invoke its sovereignty to cover or ratify exactions destructive of the national integrity: it would be arrogating to itself a right which does not belong even to a people united in its legislative functions. Such an excess of power, whose effect would be to mutilate the mother community, would expose those guilty of it to the just denunciations of history. France can endure the blows of brute force; she cannot sanction its decrees.

III.—Europe can neither permit nor ratify the abandonment of Alsace and Lorraine.

Guardians of the rules of justice and international law, the civilized nations could not long remain insensible to the fate of their neighbor, under pain of being, in their turn, victims of the aggression which they had tolerated. Modern Europe cannot allow a people to be seized like a wretched herd; it cannot remain deaf to the repeated protests of the threatened communities; it owes it to its own safety to forbid such abuses of force. It knows, besides, that the unity of France is today, as in the past, a guaranty of the general order of the world, a barrier against the spirit of conquest and invasion. Peace made at the price of a cession of territory would only be a ruinous truce and not a definitive peace. It would be for all a cause of internal agitation, of legitimate and permanent provocation throughout the earth.

In brief, Alsace and Lorraine protest highly against all cession; France cannot consent to it, Europe cannot sanction it.

In support of this we call upon our fellow-citizens of France, and upon the Governments and nations of the whole world, to witness that in advance we hold null and void all acts and treaties, votes or plébiscites, which shall consent to abandoning to the stranger all or part of our provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

We proclaim by these presents forever inviolable the right of citizens of Alsace and Lorraine to remain members of the French Nation, and we swear, both for ourselves and for those we represent, likewise for our children and their descendants, to claim it eternally by all ways and means and against all usurpers.

The undersigned members of the National Assembly place on file the following proposition with the Chamber of Deputies: "The National Assembly has taken under consideration the unanimous declaration of the Deputies of the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, Moselle, Meurthe, and Vosges." [Followed by the signatures.]

Russian Mission to United States

Ambassador Bakhmeteff, in a Series of Addresses,
Tells of Free Russia's Purposes

THE Russian Mission to the United States, which was appointed before the reconstruction of the Provisional Government, arrived at Seattle on June 13, 1917. The mission was headed by Special Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff, and included about forty officials and experts, representing nearly every department of the Russian Government. The following constituted the special embassy, in order of their rank:

Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff, (and wife.)

Lieut. Gen. Roop, representative of the Russian Army.

Professor Lomonosoff, member of the Council of Engineers and representative of the Ministry.

Professor Borodine, representative of the Ministry of Agriculture.

M. Novitzky, representative of the Ministry of Finance.

Attachés—M. Soukine, First Secretary of Legation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Captain Dubassoff of the Guard, aide de camp, (and wife,) and Captain Chutt.

Reaching Washington on June 19, the visitors were greeted by Secretary of State Lansing, and received an enthusiastic welcome as they passed through the streets from the station. Next day Ambassador Bakhmeteff was formally presented to President Wilson, while General Roop paid his respects to Secretary Baker.

Program of New Russia

Outlining the political and military program of "New Russia" to the newspaper correspondents at Washington, M. Bakhmeteff said:

In behalf of the Russian Provisional Government and in behalf of all the people of new Russia, I have been first of all sent here to express their gratitude to the Government of the United States for the prompt recognition of the new political order in Russia. This noble action of the world's greatest democracy has afforded us strong moral support and has created among our people a general feeling of profound appreciation. Close and active relationship between the two nations based upon complete and sincere understanding encountered in-

evitable obstacles during the old régime because of its very nature. The situation is now radically changed with free Russia starting a new era in her national life.

The Provisional Government is actively mobilizing all its resources and is making great efforts to organize the country and the army for the purpose of conducting the war. We hope to establish a very close and active co-operation with the United States, in order to secure the most successful and intensive accomplishment of all work necessary for our common end. For the purpose of discussing all matters relating to military affairs, munitions and supplies, railways and transportation, finance, and agriculture, our mission includes eminent and distinguished specialists.

On the other hand, I hope that the result of our stay and work in America will bring about a clear understanding on the part of your public of what has happened in Russia, and also of the present situation and the end for which our people are most earnestly striving. The achievements of the revolution are to be formally set forth in fundamental laws enacted by a Constitutional Assembly, which is to be convoked as soon as possible. In the meanwhile the Provisional Government is confronted with the task of bringing into life the democratic principles which were promulgated during the revolution.

New Russia received from the old Government a burdensome heritage of economic and technical disorganization which affected all branches of the life of the State, a disorganization which weighs yet heavily on the whole country. The Provisional Government is doing everything in its power to relieve the difficult situation. It has adopted many measures for supplying plants with raw material and fuel, for regulating the transportation of the food supply for the army and for the country, and for relieving the financial difficulties.

The participation in the new Government by new members who are active and prominent leaders in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has secured full support from the democratic masses. The esteem in which such leaders as M. Kerensky and M. Tseretelli and others are held among the working classes and soldiers is contributing to the strength and stability of the new Government. The Constitutional-Democratic Party, the Labor Party, the Socialist-Populists, and, excepting a small group of extremists, the Social Democrats—all these parties, embracing the vast majority of the peo-

ple, are represented by strong leaders in the new Government, thereby securing for it authority.

Plans of the Government

Firmly convinced that unity of power is essential, and casting aside class and special interests, all social and political elements have joined in the national program which the new Government proclaimed and which it is striving to fulfill. This program reads:

"The Provisional Government, rejecting, 'in accord with the whole people of Russia, 'all thought of separate peace, puts it 'openly as its deliberate purpose the 'promptest achievement of universal peace; 'such peace to presume no dominion over 'other nations, no seizure of their national 'property nor any forced usurpation of foreign territory; peace with no annexations 'or contributions, based upon the free determination by each nation of its destinies.

"Being fully convinced that the establishment of democratic principles in its internal and external policy has created a new factor in the striving of allied democracies for durable peace and fraternity of all nations, the Provisional Government will take preparatory steps for an agreement with the Allies founded on its declaration of March 27. The Provisional Government is conscious that the defeat of Russia and her allies would be the source of the greatest misery, and would not only postpone but even make impossible the establishment of universal peace on a firm basis.

"The Provisional Government is convinced that the revolutionary army of Russia will not allow the German troops to destroy our allies on the western front and then fall upon us with the whole might of their weapons. The chief aim of the Provisional Government will be to fortify the democratic foundations of the army and organize and consolidate the army's fighting power for its defensive as well as offensive purpose."

The last decision of the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, the decision of the All-Russian Peasant Congress, the decision of the Duma, the voice of the country as expressed from day to day by almost the entire Russian press, in resolutions adopted at different conferences and congresses—all these confirm their full support to this national program and leave not the slightest doubt that Russia is decided as to the necessity to fight the German autocracy until the conditions for a general and stable peace in Europe are established. Such decision is becoming more and more evident each day by practical work and results and shows itself in the pressing and rapid reorganization of the army which is now being fulfilled under the firm and efficient measures adopted by Minister Kerensky.

New Russia, in full accord with the motives which impelled the United States to enter

the war, is striving to destroy tyranny, to establish peace on a secure and permanent foundation and to make the world safe for democracy.

Address Before the House

Stirring scenes were witnessed when the House of Representatives gave a formal reception to the mission on June 23. Speaker Champ Clark caused the first outburst of enthusiasm when he reminded the House that Russia was the twenty-seventh republic and "that there was one other republic on earth (Switzerland) when our fathers proclaimed our independence in 1776." M. Bakhmeteff, speaking in excellent English and with much fervor, was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause. He said, in part:

Does not one feel occasionally that the very greatness and significance of events are not fully appreciated, due to the facility and spontaneity with which the change has been completed? Does one realize what it really means to humanity that a nation of 180,000,000, a country boundless in expanse, has been suddenly set free from the worst of oppressions, has been given the joy of a free, self-conscious existence?

Instead of the old forms there are now being firmly established and deeply imbedded in the minds of the nation principles that power is reposed and springs from and only from the people. To effectuate these principles and to enact appropriate fundamental laws is going to be the main function of the Constitutional Assembly which is to be convoked as promptly as possible.

Guided by democratic precepts, the Provisional Government is meanwhile reorganizing the country on the basis of freedom, equality, and self-government, rebuilding its economic and financial structure.

The people are realizing more and more that for the very sake of further freedom law must be maintained and manifestation of anarchy suppressed. In this respect local life has exemplified a wonderful exertion of spontaneous public spirit. On many occasions, following the removal of the old authorities, a new elected administration has naturally arisen, conscious of national interest and often developing in its spontaneity amazing examples of practical statesmanship.

The latest resolutions, framed by the Council of Workingmen, the Congress of Peasants, and other democratic organizations, render the best proof of the general understanding of the necessity of creating strong power. The coalitionary character of the new Cabinet, which includes eminent Socialist leaders, and represents all the vital elements of the nation, therefore enjoying its full support, is most effectively securing the unity and power of the Central Government,

the lack of which was so keenly felt during the first two months after the revolution.

Realizing the grandeur and complexity of present events and conscious of the danger which is threatening the very achievement of the revolution, the Russian people are gathering around the new Government, united on a "national program." It is this program of "national salvation" which has united the middle classes, as well as the Populists, the labor elements, and Socialists. Deep political wisdom has been exhibited by subordinating class interests and differences to national welfare. In this way this Government is supported by an immense majority of the nation, and outside of reactionaries only is being opposed by comparatively small groups of Extremists and Internationalists.

As to foreign policy, Russia's national program has been clearly set forth in the statement of the Provisional Government of March 27, and more explicitly in the declaration of the new Government of May 18. With all emphasis may I state that Russia rejects any idea of separate peace. I am aware that rumors were circulated in this country that a separate peace seemed probable. I am happy to affirm that such rumors are wholly without foundation in fact.

Gentlemen of the House, I will close my address by saying—Russia will not fail to be a worthy partner in the "league of honor."

After this address members of the mission stood in a receiving line while members of the House passed by. Every one warmly congratulated Ambassador Bakhmeteff on his address.

At Washington's Tomb

The Russian Mission joined with the Belgian Mission on June 24 to pay homage at the tomb of George Washington at Mount Vernon. M. Bakhmeteff concluded his address with these words:

With a feeling of solemn veneration and overwhelming emotion I bestow on this immortal tomb this wreath as a tribute to the hero, to the knight of liberty and democracy, from the messengers of Russia's freedom.

Professor Lomonosoff, in a statement on June 25 regarding the condition of the Russian railroads, said that locomotives were the fundamental need of Russia today. "Quite frankly I can say to you, our American friends," he said, "give us locomotives, and we shall give you military success." Russia needs at once 1,000 ten-wheel American locomotives to put her idle cars in operation; another 1,000, with appropriate number of cars, to free the congested freight terminals, and another 850 annually to meet the discrepancy between Russia's

manufacture and her needs for renewal and new construction. "I must frankly tell you," Professor Lomonosoff added, "that the Russian railways are now in a most critical state. Heroism can do nothing when there is a lack of munitions and food." The Siberian railroad was in splendid condition for the immense task put upon it. Coal was available and adequate sidings had been completed.

Speech in the Senate

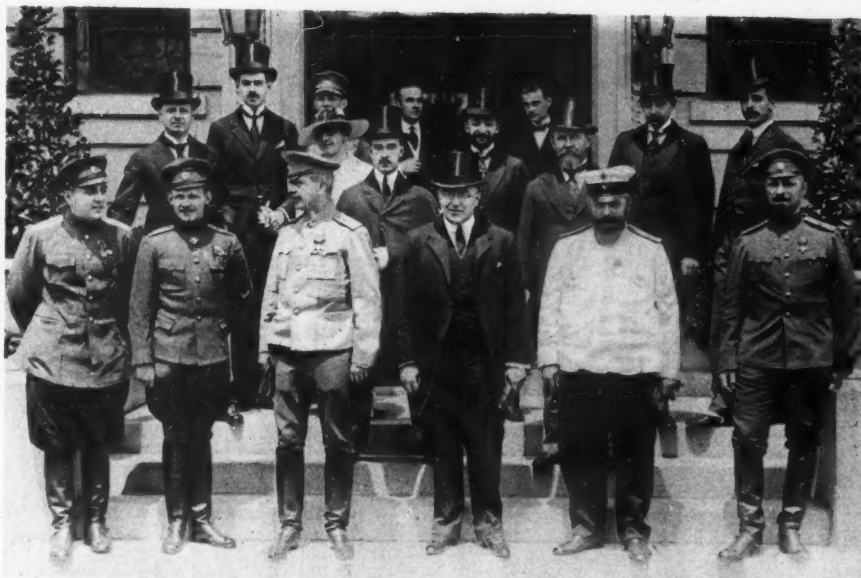
The Senate reception to M. Bakhmeteff and his colleagues on June 26 was in every way as enthusiastic as that given previously by the House. The Ambassador's address followed the same lines as that delivered before the House. In part he said:

Two considerations make me feel that Russia has passed the stage of the world when the future appeared vague and uncertain. In the first place is the firm conviction of the necessity of legality, which is widely developing and firmly establishing itself throughout the country. My latest advices give joyful confirmation of the establishment of a firm power, strong in its democratic precepts and activity, strong in the trust reposed in it by the people in its ability to enforce law and order.

In the second place, and no less important, is the growing conviction that the issues of the revolution and the future of Russia's freedom are closely connected with the fighting might of the country. It is such power, it is the force of arms, which alone can defend and make certain the achievements of the revolution against autocratic aggression. Like the nation, the army, an offspring of the people, had to be built on democratic lines. Such work takes time, and friction and partial disorganization must be overcome.

Conscious of the enormous task, the Provisional Government is taking measures to restore promptly throughout the country conditions of life so deeply disorganized by the inefficiency of the previous rulers and to provide for whatever is necessary for military success.

In this respect exceptional and grave conditions provide for exceptional means. In close touch with the Pan Peasant Congress, the Government has taken control of stores of food supplies and is providing for effective transportation and just distribution. Following examples of other countries at war, the Government has undertaken the regulation of the production of main products vital for the country and the army. The Government at the same time is making all endeavor to settle labor difficulties, taking measures for the welfare of workmen consistent with the



The Russian Mission—Boris Bakhmeteff, the New Ambassador, in Civilian Clothes, in the Front Row, with General Roop on His Left and Professor Lomonossov on His Right.

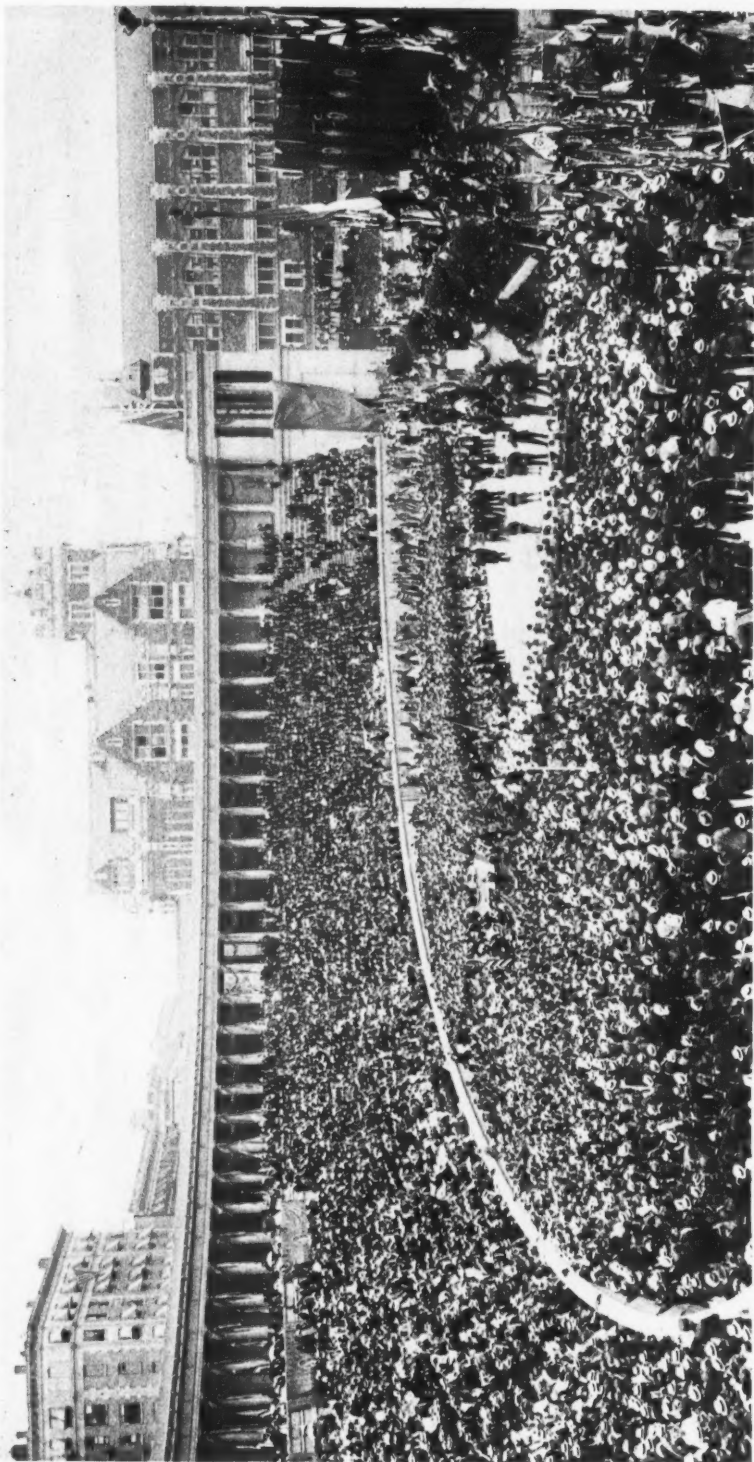
(Photo © Harris & Ewing.)



The Belgian Mission—Baron Moncheur, Head of the Mission, Is Seated to the Right of General Leclercq, Who Is at the Extreme Left of the Row.

(Photo © Harris & Ewing.)

THE ITALIAN MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES



Scene in the City College Stadium, New York City, During the Pageant Given by the Italian Societies of New York in Honor of the Prince of Udine and the Italian War Mission.

(Photo Times Photo Service)

active production necessitated by national welfare.

Senators shook hands with all members of the commission, and later, by unanimous consent, adopted a resolution by Senator Gore of Oklahoma expressing "profound satisfaction over the assurances of the determination of the Russian people in their new-found liberty and republican institutions to defend and maintain them."

New York's reception to the Russian Mission on July 6 was a fitting expression of the enthusiasm which "the most democratic city in the world," as Ambassador Bakhmeteff described it, felt at the presence of the representatives of the new democracy. The procession through the streets was greeted by large and enthusiastic crowds; and everywhere the red flag of the revolution was in evidence. Replying to Mayor Mitchel's greetings, the Ambassador, speaking in English, said that the enthusiasm that had been manifested represented "the joy of America that a new democracy had been born. So momentous is the present hour," he continued, "that solemn gravity and earnest sincerity are in our greeting, and our two nations have extended to each other their brotherly hands. Liberty and democracy, such are the aims of the Russian revolution. Democracy and liberty, such are the aims which this great Republic is seeking to obtain for all nations. Is there not a deep historic meaning in the fact that while the first American troops stepped upon the soil of Europe as true champions of mankind, Russia, inspired by the vision of freedom and democracy, has thrust her warriors with unyielding impulse upon the yet unbroken ranks of the foe of liberty?"

On July 7 a crowd of 20,000 people gathered at a concert on the Mall of Central Park. In his speech Ambassador Bakhmeteff said:

I have come to this country in behalf of the new Russia, a Russia freed from the shackles of hundreds of years of oppression and hatreds. With a deadly blow has the Russian people shattered the chains of serfdom.

Russia is free! One hundred and eighty millions of men, women, and children now

have the blessings of self-government and self-rule. And with us others are free. The Pole is free. The Jew enjoys full equality. The Jew is a full fellow-citizen of free Russia.

This war in which we are comrades is not a common war between nations seeking personal ends. It is a war for a principle. On the issues of this war will depend the future of the world, whether the world will be "safe for democracy" or whether it will be fettered with autocracy.

Liberty and democracy! That was what the great hero Kerensky pleaded for when he led the soldier-citizen to fight. Let us be united. Let us all be one. Let us fight for liberty and democracy—that is the message to you, the oldest democracy of the New World, from the newest democracy of the Old World.

One episode marred the otherwise unbroken flow of harmony which characterized the visit of the mission to New York. At the great meeting in Madison Square Garden on the evening of July 7 a crowd of 12,000 persons was thrown into disorder by a hostile demonstration against a declaration that the Russians must fight until the Kaiser was removed from power. The speaker interrupted was a representative of Russian workers in the United States. The disturbance was stopped, and a little later Ambassador Bakhmeteff made an address. Without challenging the pacifist sentiment in the audience by making any direct reference to the determination on the part of the new Russia to continue the war until victory is secure, the Ambassador paid glowing compliments to the revolutionary army. He spoke in Russian, and was interrupted frequently by tumultuous cheers. He described the critical moments of the revolution, the economic, political, and social disorganization which necessarily followed the overturn of the old régime. For a time, he said, it seemed as though the revolution might prove a failure, that the obstacles were too great. "But the moment of salvation came," he added, "when Tseretelli, Skobelev, and Tchernoff united and formed the coalition which strengthened the Provisional Government and put the young nation on a firm and reliable foundation."

The mission on July 5 resolved itself into the permanent Russian Embassy in

the United States. Special Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff presented to President Wilson his credentials as permanent Ambassador, but continued to exercise extraordinary powers of negotiation. The former Russian Embassy at Washington has been transformed into a network of offices. From there Ambassador Bakhmeteff now directs all the special, technical, and purchasing missions. The

other members of the special mission are working under his direction, some of them for the length of the war and others for at least four or five months.

The text of the new Ambassador's formal address to the President, delivered when he presented his credentials, will be found on a preceding page, in connection with articles on the Russian situation.

Tour of the Italian Mission

THE story of the arrival of the Italian Mission in the United States was given in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, with the first public utterances of Prince Udine and his distinguished associates. To continue the narrative: In the course of a tour of the Middle West the commission visited Chicago on June 18, 1917. At a formal dinner in the evening the principal speaker was Guglielmo Marconi, who told of Italy's difficult position in the war, saying in part:

Among all the nations at war Italy is silently taking the greatest strain and the greatest privation. Only when the kind of war Italy is fighting becomes fully known will the world realize what sacrifices the army and the people of Italy have accomplished. For more than two years Italy has had an army of more than 3,000,000 men. It is now approaching 4,000,000. You must bear in mind that her population is a little over 37,000,000—about one-third that of the United States. If America were to make an equal sacrifice she would have to maintain under arms for more than two years about 12,000,000 men, and even then her effort would not be equal to ours, for the wealth of the United States is incomparably greater than that of Italy. To feel an equal strain America would have to fling at least \$30,000,000,000 into the furnace of war.

The Italian Mission arrived in New York on June 21, and received a hearty welcome. The crowds that gathered about the Battery, where Prince Udine and his colleagues came ashore from a ferryboat, the crowds in City Hall Park, in Washington Square, and along the rest of the way to Sixty-first Street were almost as large as those which had greeted the French Commission a few weeks previously. The city's Italian population

turned out in great numbers. An interesting episode was the stoppage of the procession at the Garibaldi Statue, on the pedestal of which Prince Udine, the head of the mission, laid a wreath of evergreens. Then he saluted, and stood a moment contemplating the figure of the man who had helped to create modern Italy.

At the luncheon given on June 22 by the Merchants' Association, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, reminded the audience that Italy had almost invented banking and that Genoa and Venice were the founders of the great overseas commerce of modern times. Charles Evans Hughes, Republican candidate for President in 1916, said that to state the indebtedness of America to Italy was to recite the history of navigation and discovery, of arts and letters, of commerce and invention—a long line of obligations, extending from Columbus to Marconi. "We also record the fact," Mr. Hughes added, "that Italian skill and industry are part of the very substance of American prosperity."

Marconi, in his speech, came down to the practical and critical question of Italy's shortage of coal, the importation of which had fallen to half the normal quantity. He proceeded:

We want coal, we must have coal, to keep our munition factories going, to run our railroads carrying ammunition to the front and food to all the scattered populations of the country, and to run our factories, the stoppage of which would mean the throwing of a million men out of work to starve and increase our difficulties. And if we do not get this coal, and get it quick, our ammunition factories will have to work half time or

stop, our trains will cease to run, diminishing the efficiency of the army, and even perhaps bringing about local famines. Above all, we must hasten the construction of ships, hundreds of ships, thousands of ships, ships of wood and ships of steel, so long as they will float and carry coal, iron, and wheat to Europe.

We expect the United States to put forth a great effort; given the spirit of organization and the industrial power of this great country, it should not be impossible to build one and a half million tons of shipping by the end of this year, and at least double that amount in 1918.

In addition to all these difficulties we must realize that the production of war material diminishes agricultural production, whereas the latter should be increased at all costs. Here again the United States can help us better than any one else if they will realize fully that the essential conditions of victory are an increase in agricultural production and the construction of many ships.

Enrico Arlotta, Minister of Transportation, pointed out the initial service to the Allies constituted by Italy's declaration of neutrality. He declared that, despite the increase of her budget from 2,500,000,000f. a year to eighteen billions, Italy had so well organized her finances that every new loan was met with new income adequate to cover the interest. He duplicated Marconi's plea for war materials and ships:

The commodities needed are wheat and other cereals, steel for the munitions, and, above all, coal; but these three things have now one name only, and this name is "ships, ships, and more ships." Italy used to take before the war about twenty millions of tons of goods, out of which one million was represented by coal imported from England and the United States. Now this figure is almost cut down to half, and this diminution represents the greatest sacrifice we could impose on our population.

Gentlemen, I said I would speak to you as a merchant does with a merchant. We have all signed a bill of exchange, and this bill of exchange is indorsed by England, by France, by Italy, by Russia, and so on. Now the United States has put its signature on this bill of exchange, and as nations live on credit, just as merchants do, when the bill of exchange is due we must pay it by winning the war. Otherwise we shall all be bankrupt.

Prince Udine on the afternoon of June 22 journeyed to Staten Island to pay a tribute to the memory of Garibaldi, who had lived for a while in a little frame house on the crest of a hill at Rosebank. It was estimated that at least 100,000

Italians took part in the demonstration, one of the most picturesque ever seen in New York. Members of Italian communities as far away as a hundred miles were represented in the crowd. The little house in which Garibaldi lived is now an Italian shrine, and is inclosed in another building, above it the words in gold, "The Garibaldi Memorial." In this old house Garibaldi supported himself by making candles, and in the rooms is still some of the humble furniture which the Italian patriot used. The Prince remained at the memorial about twenty minutes and the cheering never ceased for an instant while he was there. A committee representing the Order of the Sons of Italy greeted the Prince and handed him a check for \$10,000, to be applied to the relief of war sufferers in Italy. Prince Udine accepted the check, and expressed his deep gratitude for the gift. He said:

Before this memorial to Italy's great hero and in the country which Garibaldi loved so dearly, and at this historic moment when Italy is fighting for the principles which Garibaldi held most sacred, it is indeed a source of great gratification to me to greet so many Italian and so many American citizens at such a place as is this.

The Prince referred to the present war as one for the complete realization of the dreams of Garibaldi, and he believed that the ideals of liberty and justice championed by the Italian patriot would triumph. He closed with a tribute to George Washington, whose ideals, he added, were the ideals of Garibaldi.

The official entertainment of the Italian Mission ended on June 23 with a celebration at the City College stadium. In the afternoon a visit was paid to Colonel Roosevelt at his Long Island home, and in the evening Prince Udine and his colleagues left for Boston.

Italy's Part in the Marne Victory

Senator Guglielmo Marconi of wireless fame, speaking as a member of the Italian Diplomatic Mission at the dinner given to the visitors by Mayor Mitchel of New York, June 22, 1917, revealed for the first time the circumstances in which

Italy announced to France her decision to remain neutral at the outset of the war, thereby releasing a million French soldiers on the Italian frontier and enabling France to win the battle of the Marne. This portion of Mr. Marconi's speech was as follows:

And now, gentlemen, I come to what is perhaps one of the least well-known matters in connection with this war, the absolutely decisive influence of Italy's conduct at the very outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Let me tell you a few facts concerning the inner political history of those fateful few days of July, 1914, when the fate of Europe was trembling in the balance.

Germany did not expect us to join her in her savage attack on the liberties of Europe; she did not even care much whether we eventually agreed to remain neutral. Her game was a much deeper and more treacherous one. She wanted us to leave France, our great Latin sister, in doubt as to our intentions.

On the morning of July 30, 1914, that is to say, one day before Germany declared war on Russia, and two days before she declared war on France, the Marquis de San Giuliano, who was then our Foreign Minister, unofficially informed the French Ambassador in Rome that Italy would never side with the Central Powers in a war of aggression. This information was immediately wired to Paris, but it was not sufficient to make France feel absolutely certain that Italy's attitude was favorable to her, because there was as yet no official declaration of neutrality on our part.

On the 2d of August, 1914, three days before England declared war against Ger-

many, at a Council of Ministers held in Rome, Italy decided formally to declare her neutrality. The news was immediately communicated to our Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, the Ambassador being absent. For some reason the telegram did not reach him until 1 o'clock in the morning. Without a moment's hesitation he went to see M. Viviani, the French Prime Minister, in the middle of the night.

When he was introduced into M. Viviani's presence the latter turned pale and drew back, for he was almost convinced that nothing but Italy's decision to join Germany would have brought the Italian Chargé d'Affaires there at that hour. The revulsion of feeling when M. Viviani read the telegram was such that he could not hide his emotion. Within half an hour orders had gone forth for the mobilization for service in the north of nearly 1,000,000 men which France would have had to keep on her southern and eastern frontier to guard against a possible attack from Italy.

That million men helped to stem the advancing tide of Germans, to win the battle of the Marne, and to save France from being crushed by the heel of German militarism. Had there been the slightest wavering, the smallest hesitation on the part of Italy, had any Italian politician been found to do one-tenth the part of what Bismarck did when he altered the wording of the famous Ems telegram, and thus brought about the Franco-Prussian war, France would not have dared to withdraw a single man from the Italian frontier, and the history of the world might have been written differently.

Gentlemen, is there any man who can think, in view of what I have just told you, that Italy's conduct was not a decisive factor in the war?

The Belgian Mission in America

A MOST sympathetic reception was accorded to the Belgian Commission, which arrived in the United States on June 16, 1917. Its personnel included:

Baron Ludovic Moncheur, Chief of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Foreign Office at Havre and former Belgian Minister to the United States, President of the commission.

General Leclercq, a cavalry commander.

Hector Carlier, member of a Belgian banking family, counselor of the commission.

Major Osterrieth, long attached to the Belgian Legation in Petrograd.

Count Louis d'Ursel, former Secretary of the Belgian Legation in Teheran, Persia.

The members of the mission were formally received on June 18 by President Wilson, to whom Baron Moncheur pre-

sented the following letter from the King of the Belgians:

HIS EXCELLENCY, WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States of America.

Great and good friend: I commend to your Excellency's kindly reception the mission which bears this letter. This mission will express to the President the feelings of understanding and enthusiastic admiration with which my Government and people have received the decision reached by him in his wisdom. The mission will also tell you how greatly the important and glorious rôle enacted by the United States has confirmed the confidence which the Belgian Nation has always had in free America's spirit of justice.

The great American Nation was particularly moved by the unwarranted and violent attacks made upon Belgium. It

has sorrowed over the distress of my subjects subjected to the yoke of the enemy. It has succored them with incomparable generosity. I am happy to have an opportunity again to express to your Excellency the gratitude which my country owes you and the firm hope entertained by Belgium that on the day of reparation toward which America will contribute so bountifully, full and entire justice will be rendered to my country.

My Government has chosen to express its sentiments to your Excellency through two distinguished men whose services will command credence for what they have to say, Baron Moncheur, who for eight years was my representative at Washington, and Lieut. Gen. Leclercq, who has earned high appreciation during a long military career.

I venture to hope, Mr. President, that you will accord full faith and credence to everything that they say, especially when they assure you of the hopes I entertain for the happiness and prosperity of the United States of America and of my faithful and very sincere friendship.

ALBERT.

In the course of a statement to the newspaper correspondents at Washington on June 20 Baron Moncheur said:

Your entry into the war not only brings to us the satisfaction of finding in an old friend a new ally, but fires us with complete confidence in an early and victorious issue of the great struggle which has brought to my country so much of misery and suffering.

Our admiration for your decision in entering the war is all the greater because we know that you did so in full knowledge of all its horrors, and realized fully the sacrifices you will be called upon to make, the tears that will flow, the inevitable heartache and sorrow that will darken your homes.

In voicing my country's gratitude I am happy to be able to pay a tribute of admiration and affection to Mr. Hoover, under whose able and untiring direction the great work of feeding Belgium was carried on. We rejoice for you that a man so eminently fitted by ability and experience should be at your service in handling the great food problems that confront you.

From being one of the foremost industrial nations of the world, ranking fourth among exporting countries, Belgium for the time being has been ruthlessly wiped out. Her factories are closed. With cold calculation for the ruin of the country, the invader has even removed the machinery from our factories and shipped it to Germany as part of a far-sighted and cynical program of economic annihilation. And, worst of all, a part of Belgium's unoffending laboring class has been torn from their families and sent to toil in Germany under a system that would have offended the moral sense of the Middle Ages.

The Senate received the mission on June 22 with every mark of appreciation and sympathy. Baron Moncheur's address expressing Belgium's gratitude for America's aid was punctuated with frequent applause. "The sympathy of America," he declared, "gives us new courage."

Baron Moncheur's Eloquence

Baron Moncheur was one of the speakers at the impressive ceremony on June 24, when the Belgian and Russian Missions visited Washington's tomb at Mount Vernon. Speaking very earnestly and slowly, he said:

In this solemn hour when freedom is locked in a death struggle with the powers of darkness we come to pay homage to the great founder of American liberty. Although his body lies here, his work survives and his spirit still lives in the American people. I know of nothing which typifies that spirit better than the words of Washington when, in bequeathing his sword to his nephew, he added the injunction that it should never be drawn except in defense of liberty and justice, and that when once drawn it should never be sheathed before the complete victory of right over wrong.

It is that spirit which animates your nation in the present as in the past. You looked across the sea and saw liberty struggling in the grasp of autocracy, that hideous monster, the enemy of mankind. You came to her aid, and by throwing your mighty sword into the scales you have insured that right will prevail and that the world will be made safe for all honest nations—the small as well as the great.

You have done what Washington would have done. And, therefore, in paying homage to the father of your country I offer a tribute of devotion and gratitude to the whole American people.

Another notable address by Baron Moncheur was that delivered to the House of Representatives on June 27. He said, in part:

As in the Middle Ages the knights were accustomed to hold a vigil, watching their armor in the chapel, so you today are making the same holy and prayerful preparation for the battle to come. Everywhere you are carrying on work which day by day brings nearer the moment of supreme victory. While the flower of American youth is preparing itself in your splendid training camps, your shipyards, your factories, and munition plants resound with the hum of feverish work providing your soldiers with the implements of war.

American aviation, that marvelous product of the New World, is making ready to lend

its powerful aid, also, to support our armies. Is it not natural, indeed, that the American eagle from the skies should strike the death-blow to the enemy?

After your great stroke for liberty in 1776 you formed a society, which you called the Order of the Cincinnati, to indicate that when war was finished you knew how to beat your swords into plowshares; and now, when war has been forced upon you, you have given proof that you know equally well how to turn your plowshares into swords.

Some twenty years ago Prince Albert of Belgium, heir to a throne which seemed to be safely sheltered from the blast of war, came to America, where he studied with the deepest interest your marvelous country and the wonderful works of industry and commerce which you had developed in the

quietude of peace. And now, how can I express the sentiments which fill his heroic soul when, fighting at the head of his troops in the last trench on Belgian soil, he sees the sons of that same industrious America land upon the coast of Europe, brave champions of the most noble principles and ready to lay down their lives in defense of right and justice?

On a certain occasion a mighty sovereign declared, "The Pyrenees exist no more," and today we can say with even more truth, "There is no longer any ocean," for endless friendship, cemented by gratitude and joint effort and suffering in the cause of justice and liberty, will forever obliterate the barrier of the seas and unite the children of old Belgium to the sons of the young and powerful Republic of the New World.

Lord Northcliffe and Other Envoys

LORD NORTHCLIFFE, after his arrival in the United States as special representative of the British Government, delivered his first speech at a luncheon in New York City on June 28. He said, in part:

It is only by an absolute mobilization of man power and machine power that this war can be won. Industries that at this moment seem remote from mobilization for the war will sooner or later be called upon to do their part. In Europe, for example, one of the largest corset factories is now turning out very delicate pieces of machinery needed in the construction of airplanes. The war, which has proved the efficacy of motor transport to an almost incredible degree, will make a tremendous drain upon the automobile industry of your country. For one thing, the great bulk of automobile output will have to be concentrated on trucks. In the second place, the automobile factories will inevitably be commandeered for the manufacture of airplane parts and airplane construction generally.

In the airplane lies one great hope of allied victory. The war has taught that the airplane engine of Spring may be almost useless for actual fighting by the next Autumn, so rapid are the developments produced by the fierce competition of war.

When America has got her full stride in the war, as surely she will get it, it will be found that there will be a tremendous demand for chauffeurs. England today has nearly a hundred thousand motor trucks in France, and is constantly sending more. Every one of these trucks must be manned by a trained driver. If skilled chauffeurs can be sent to operate your trucks it will be possible to release an equal number of men for the fighting lines.

Lord Northcliffe prophesied a post-bellum federation of allied nations:

I have a strong conviction that with peace will come a close federation of the nations who are now fighting the great fight for freedom. You have only to look at the spectacle of what I might call the United Nations of Great Britain today to see the effect that the war has upon the co-ordination of peoples and nations of widely conflicting temperaments and national structures. You see democratic Australia, a near socialistic New Zealand, a vast country like India, with its feudal princes and other rulers, a free Canada, and what is nothing less than the Republic of South Africa, all pouring their blood and treasure out upon the battlefields of France, linked by a common feeling of empire and sustained by a common hope of liberation from the militarism that sought to dominate the world.

A close federation of the nations now fighting the good fight will be the only insurance against the autocracy that made this war possible and the horrors that the armies of the autocrat perpetrated on innocent non-combatants. The world must be made free for democracy.

Irish Nationalist Leaders

The Irish Nationalist Party in the House of Commons appointed T. P. O'Connor, M. P., and Richard Hazleton, M. P., and Secretary of the party, to visit the United States as its representatives. On their arrival in New York on June 24 Mr. O'Connor explained the purpose of his visit as follows:

I am here as the official representative, with my colleague, Mr. Hazleton, of the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party, to

lay before the men of my race and before the friends of Ireland of all races the realities and the issues, for the opinion of the Greater Ireland and of this democratic Republic beyond the seas remains the most potent factor in working out the liberation of Ireland and of all other nationalities in the world.

The situation in Ireland is still somewhat confused. A series of unfortunate mistakes and tragic events have produced resentment and thrown many of the younger men of the country off their balance for the moment. But this, in my opinion, represents a mood and not a settled preference for the hopeless program of armed insurrection over a constitutional movement.

As to the war, opinion in England grows more united and harder. I need say nothing more at the moment of America's welcome intervention except that Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg and President Wilson's address to Congress represent to me the clearest definitions of the issues and purposes for which all free men today are fighting.

The war has made a new world and has transformed the soul of Europe. No man's political, social, or mental standpoint has remained the same. The whole groundwork of society has adapted itself to a new state of things in which men fighting in the air and under the sea are recognized as prominent factors.

Men who have lost two or three sons in the war do not speak of their grief in going about their daily duties. It is only by the whitened hair and the drawn features that we can judge of what they are inwardly suffering.

The war and the demand for wheat, oats, and other grains have caused the British Government to till all available land, tending toward the solution in Ireland of the ranch problem. While the land under cultivation in England has increased 200,000 acres, in Ireland it has increased by 700,000 acres. Fully 10 per cent. of this Irish land, broken up for tillage, was drawn by the Government from grazing lands reserved for breeding sheep, horses, and cattle.

The series of conferences with prominent Irishmen, by which Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Hazleton hope to be able to carry back to the Irish convention the correct sentiment of America in regard to home rule, was started in New York City upon the arrival from Boston of T. B. Fitzgerald and Michael J. Jordan, respectively Treasurer and Secretary of the United Irish League of America. Mr. O'Connor divided the sentiment in Ireland into three classes: pro-Irish, pro-English, and the so-called pro-German, the last being, in his opinion, a sentiment formed not on love of Germany, but rather on an inveterate pacifism.

Andre Tardieu's Advice

André Tardieu, French High Commissioner to the United States, is laboring at Washington and elsewhere for the business efficiency of the Allies and the co-ordination of all their economic forces. He was the guest of honor in New York on July 11 at a luncheon of the Franco-American Society, which was attended



ANDRE TARDIEU
French High Commissioner

by many of the leading financiers of the United States and other notables and diplomats. After a brief beginning in English, M. Tardieu spoke in French, and the more important passages, duly translated, are these:

To set at naught the insolent hope of our enemies the United States must organize its own resources without ceasing to supply its allies. This problem is difficult, but it is not insoluble for a nation of decision and realization such as yours. That solution calls for the concentration of the whole of your financial, economic, and human resources in the hands of the Government.

The Congress has voted the conscription of men. It remains to organize the conscription of material means. To that end two conditions must be fulfilled—a thorough knowledge of those means and an equitable fixation of prices, insuring to the allied armies the same treatment in America as to the American Army itself, because we are now one common army fighting in a common cause.

The great duty of the United States at the present moment is to put on the same footing all those who are fighting for the same cause. Since you have been in this war you have been beset with isolated financial, industrial, and military requests by each of the powers of the Entente. You gave them a generous answer, but you are beginning to realize that if your assistance should be indefinitely solicited in the same manner your immense resources would not be sufficient to comply with requests when ill-regulated.

You are compelled to say yes to some, no to others. You must consider the order of urgency of the solicitations which reach you. We must put an end to confusion. We are entitled to ask you to discipline your means with a view to victory, but also, with a view to victory, you are entitled to ask us to discipline our needs.

For that purpose, there is clearly one method—that is to create in Europe as near the front as possible an inter-allied committee to centralize all the demands, study and control them, and to submit them to you on behalf of all the Allies, grouped according to their urgency in relation to military operations.

The one vital thing is to win the war. Discipline of the American resources upon the basis of the common interest, discipline of the European needs upon the basis of the same interest—such is the aim and such is the duty. The aim must be attained, the duty must be fulfilled.

Such is, freed from innumerable details, the task which I have undertaken—such is the task for which I shall need all your assistance.

Rumania's Patriotic Mission

The Rumanian Patriotic Mission arrived in America on June 22, 1917, and was received by the Secretary of State on July 2. The mission consists of the Rev. Basil Lucaciu, President of the Rumanian League, which was formed for the purpose of inducing Rumania to enter the war on the side of the Allies; Jean Mota, the Rumanian Speaker, and Lieutenant Vasili Stoica of the Rumanian Army. Father Lucaciu told the Secretary of State that the mission had come to the United States for the purpose of inducing Rumanians to enlist in the American Army and fight for the allied cause. The Secretary of State gave the visitors a cordial greeting and welcome, and said that the Government of the United States looked with sympathy upon the object of the mission. The members are now at work among their fellow-countrymen in the United States, urging them to enlist and fight for the Allies.

The Norwegian Government nominated a special commission of six members, with Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, formerly Norwegian Minister at London, as President, to visit the United States to organize and procure the importation of food supplies from that country.

Objects of the Japanese Mission

THE Department of State announced that the Japanese Government was sending a diplomatic mission to the United States, headed by Baron Kikujiro Ishii, to arrive in the latter part of July. Baron Ishii was formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was an attaché of the legation in France in 1891 and went through the siege of Peking during the Boxer trouble. In addition to Viscount Ishii, who is made an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, the mission includes:

Isamu Takeshita, Vice Admiral, Imperial Japanese Navy, formerly Naval Attaché in Washington.

Hisaichi Sugano, Major General, Imperial Japanese Army.

Matsuzo Nagai, Secretary of the Foreign Office, formerly a Secretary of the Japanese Legation at Washington.

Masataka Ando, Lieutenant Commander, Imperial Japanese Navy.

Seiji Tanikawa, Major, Imperial Japanese Army.

Tadanao Imai, Vice Consul.

Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, head of the Japanese Mission to the United States, made the following address at a farewell dinner given to the mission at Tokio, July 4, 1917, regarding the objects in view:

My mission, I consider, is a military one in one respect and one of peace in another—military as against the Central European system of militarism and domination, but one of peace to be consolidated and reaffirmed as between the Pacific powers—Japan and the United States.

He declared that the Japanese Nation unanimously and enthusiastically welcomed the decision to send a mission to America as wise, proper, and eminently useful. He was therefore proud that

part of his duty would be to convey to the 100,000,000 Americans the sympathy and good-will of the 70,000,000 Japanese. The intercourse between Japan and America had gradually come to assume a more popular character, which he considered a happy augury of the consolidation of a genuine friendship, since that friendship no longer hung perilously on the caprice of individual statesmen, but rested on the well-understood mutual interests and reciprocal respect of the two nations. Viscount Ishii concluded as follows:

It is gratifying to think of one great benefit with which the war has already endowed Japan and the United States. I mean the disappearance of Germany in this quarter of the world. Now that Germany, the universal disturber of the peace, has been completely and once for all driven out of her Asiatic bases, there remains no longer any one who will venture to cherish the design of estranging Japan from America. Consequently, the Pacific henceforth will have the noble destiny to join the two great nations and never to separate them.

Viscount Kentaro Kaneko, member of the House of Peers and a Privy Councillor, who presided at the dinner, emphasized the nobility and uprightness of the attitude of America, which, he said, was

fighting for the individual liberty, national freedom, peace, and civilization of mankind. The appearance of an American army at the front was certain to breathe new life into the gallantry and patriotism of the Allies. When Germany was crushed and the belligerents sat in a council of peace, he believed the voice of the United States would have great weight in determining the terms of peace, not for the belligerents only, but for the peace of the whole world.

"A clear and good understanding with the United States is most important for the present and the future," he added. "This may be the reason and aim of Viscount Ishii's mission."

Former Minister Hioki expressed the opinion that, in addition to the questions of the day, no question of any importance existing between the United States and Japan would escape either settlement or discussion while Viscount Ishii was in America. The mission was a difficult one because of the vastness of the field and the complexity of the problems to be handled, he said, but the two groups would not be throwing dust into each other's eyes. There would be plain dealing, just and fair, actuated by mutual respect and sympathy.

Viviani's Tribute to America

[Speech in the French Chamber, June 14, 1917.]

Three things united to make the session of the French Chamber of Deputies on June 14 a memorable occasion: General Pershing was present, Premier Ribot spoke on the reasons for dethroning King Constantine, and René Viviani, Keeper of the Seals, told the Chamber, in one of his most eloquent speeches, what he had seen and felt during his mission to the United States. The chief passages of M. Viviani's oration are here translated for *CURRENT HISTORY* MAGAZINE.

After an introductory tribute to American hospitality and to the qualities of President Wilson, M. Viviani continued:

SOLELY because I represented the French Nation, gentlemen, and in contravention of century-old rules, I was admitted to the unforgettable honor of addressing the United States Congress; and I desire that at this hour you should send across space to the great American Republic the fraternal salute of the French Republic. [All the Deputies arose, amid applause.]

Gentlemen, how does the American

soul group before its vision those vigorous principles and sentiments which have carried that country into the war? This is a complex and delicate question. Was it solely a matter of esteem for France, in remembrance of the glorious services of Lafayette and the French soldiers who took part in the winning of independence? No one here can realize the privileged place that France occupies in the vibrant heart of vast America. And the gratitude to Lafayette is infinite. * * *

[M. Viviani went on to say that this,

however, was not what had moved the American people; it was, rather, the silence, the dignity, the calm courage of France amid her present trials. He continued:]

To see a nation receiving fierce blows from an aggressor without crying out, and returning them without boasting; to see that nation united, the people of the factories and those of the trenches, the people of thought and the people of toil, to see these grouping themselves around their fighters; to see at the Marne the triumph of dash, at Verdun the triumph of patience; to see this palpitating capital, which German calumny had called the capital of pleasure and frivolity, so peaceful in tragic hours, so calm when glory later came to shine upon our banners, reserving its enthusiasm for the day when universal right, by force of our arms, shall be implanted throughout the whole world—that is the spectacle which, I assure you, stirred to its depths the American soul. * * *

It would have been easy for America, if she had desired to stand aloof, to think only of her individual grievances at the hands of imperial Germany. She might have said that she could not tolerate on her own soil the tortuous intrigues of a faithless Ambassador. She might have said that she would never subject the honor of the land of Washington to the arrogance of the Germanic boot; that she could not bear to hear the cries of those unfortunate victims who, in Summer evenings and Winter nights, were hurled without warning, by criminal hands, into the depths of the sea.

America did say these things, but she said more. Her merit, after stating her own grievances, the thing that will constitute her historic honor before the world, is that she heard the cry of all humanity, that she invoked human right, universal right!

Never have I felt that profound truth so deeply as in the great City of Chicago, the greatest German city after Berlin, where, pressed by 20,000 breasts, wearied by effort and emotion, I proclaimed in your name the whole truth about Alsace-Lorraine, repudiating the historic and juridical fraud that has proceeded out of

a lying plébiscite. And I still hear the storm of applause that followed, and the words of the Governor elected by several millions of men: "To the last cent, to the last man, to the last heart-beat!"

America has entered the war with the belief that there can be no peace without victory, unless we are to be recreant in our duty to the tomb and to the cradle, and, by the barbarous rhythm that returns every thirty years, are to allow our sons to go upon the battlefield and stand where their fathers have fallen. She has entered knowing what she has to do: not only to continue what she did while still chained to neutrality—render us financial and economic service—but to go to the end with her full might, giving to the Allies immediate aid of every kind until victory is won by constant co-operation.

Ah, well! It is universal justice that has thus been proclaimed by America as she takes her place by the side of France and the Allies to champion it. But what! Is France going to permit a portion of her heritage to be snatched from her? Human rights, universal justice, the independence of nations—whence have these sprung? It was by the spirit of our philosophers that the fire of independence was lighted in the world; it was by our men of action in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the foundations of justice and liberty were laid. Ah, I know, I understand!

Yes, yes, three years of war, of economic and political difficulties, of griefs, of graves added to graves, of cradles over which mothers ask whether this is the punishment for life itself! All the sorrows, all the anguish, all the anxieties that tear our hearts; yes, all these—and after them?

[Here the whole Chamber, thrilled, rose as one man, carried away by the speaker's eloquence. M. Viviani spoke of the sacrifices that his people would still have to bear before victory could come, and concluded with this peroration:]

Such is the result that we must attain. For this, oh! life is hard, difficult, delicate! The mourning robes, the tears, the sufferings of the widows whom we meet at every step of the way, and who try to hide under their veils their saddening

grief, yet who demand expiation; all that we meet, all that we know, all that is written to us, all that we think, yes, all this creates around us an inextricable difficulty. But do not forget: you are not accountable to the France of today, you are accountable to the France of yesterday, you are accountable to the France of tomorrow.

To conquer and prevent the repetition of such crimes, after victory, when the American Army stands by our side; when immediate aid and constant co-operation are promised us, when we are certain not to be alone on the field of combat, when the same glory shall be harvested under different flags, when all the free peoples shall stand upon a land that trembles, while their own hearts tremble not; when before the world we shall have made an example of an autocracy which, if not beaten down, has received fearful blows and deserves to fall; when it is certain that there can be no more peace in the world for the sons of our sons so long as this bleeding autoc-

racy survives, I ask myself, truly, when duty is at once so tragic and so simple, how can it be difficult to follow whither it leads?

But you will follow it. At present your duty is simple: first to be men, to look our destiny in the face, whatever it be; to tell us that there is no historic fatality that cannot be redressed by courage and will; then to go on thus all the way to victory. After that, let others, more happy, who shall not have known our griefs, survive! But we shall have bequeathed to humanity the most magnificent heritage for which it has ever hoped.

[At the close the assembly leaped to its feet, acclaiming the orator, then turned its applause upon General Pershing, who, standing in the diplomatic tribune, was waving his military cap. The crowd in the galleries joined in the thrilling demonstration, and the public posting of the speech was ordered by a unanimous vote.]

Brazil's Revocation of Neutrality

THE friendly act of Brazil in revoking its earlier attitude of neutrality and definitely taking sides with the United States as against Germany was formally communicated to the Washington Government on June 4, 1917, by the Brazilian Ambassador, Dr. Domicio da Gama, in the following note:

Mr. Secretary of State: The President of the republic has just instructed me to inform your Excellency's Government that he has approved the law which revokes Brazil's neutrality in the war between the United States of America and the German Empire. The republic thus recognized the fact that one of the belligerents is a constituent portion of the American Continent and that we are bound to that belligerent by traditional friendship and the same sentiment in the defense of the vital interests of America and the accepted principles of law.

Brazil ever was and is now free from war-like ambitions, and, while it always refrained from showing any partiality in the European conflict, it could no longer stand unconcerned when the struggle involved the United States, actuated by no interest whatever but solely for the sake of international judicial order,

and when Germany included us and the other neutral powers in the most violent acts of war.

While the comparative lack of reciprocity on the part of the American republics divested until now the Monroe Doctrine of its true character, by permitting of an interpretation based on the prerogatives of their sovereignty, the present events which brought Brazil even now to the side of the United States at a critical moment in the history of the world are still imparting to our foreign policy a practical shape of continental solidarity, a policy, however, that was also that of the former régime whenever any of the other sister friendly nations of the American Continent was concerned. The republic strictly observed our political and diplomatic traditions and remained true to the liberal principles in which the nation was nurtured.

Thus understanding our duty and Brazil taking the position to which its antecedents and the conscience of a free people pointed, whatever fate the morrow may have in store for us, we shall conserve the Constitution which governs us and which has not yet been surpassed in the guarantees due to the rights, lives, and property of foreigners.

In bringing the above-stated resolution to your Excellency's knowledge, I beg you to be pleased to convey to your Government the

sentiments of unalterable friendship of the Brazilian people and Government.

I avail myself of the opportunity to reiterate to your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

DOMICIO DA GAMA.

The reply to Ambassador da Gama was sent by Frank L. Polk, Counselor of the State Department, as Acting Secretary of State. The text is as follows:

Excellency: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of June 4 by which, in pursuance of instructions from the President of Brazil, you inform me of the enactment of a law revoking Brazil's declaration of neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany and request me to convey to this Government the sentiments of unalterable friendship of the Brazilian people and Government.

I have received with profound gratification this notification of the friendly co-operation of Brazil in the efforts of the United States to assist in the perpetuation of the principles of free government and the preservation of the agencies for the amelioration of the sufferings and losses of war so slowly and toilsomely built up during the emergencies of mankind from barbarism.

Your Government's invaluable contribution to the cause of American solidarity,

now rendered more important than ever as a protection to civilization and a means of enforcing the laws of humanity, is highly appreciated by the United States.

I shall be glad if you will be good enough to convey to the President, the Government, and the people of Brazil the thanks of this Government and people for their course, so consistent with the antecedents of your great and free nation and so important in its bearing on issues which are vital to the welfare of all the American republics.

Requesting that you will also assure your Government and people of most cordial reciprocation by the Government and people of the United States of their assurances of friendship, always so greatly valued, and now happily rendered still warmer and closer by the action of Brazil, I avail myself of the occasion to renew to your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK L. POLK,
Acting Secretary of State.

Brazil's seizure of the war-bound German ships added to her merchant marine more than 150,000 tons. On June 30 it was announced that Brazil's navy had begun co-operating with the American fleet in South American waters in hunting for German sea raiders and submarines.

Ruy Barbosa's Stirring Call to Brazil

When Brazil broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on April 11, 1917, Senhor Ruy Barbosa, the most popular statesman in that country, delivered a memorable speech at a meeting of 50,000 persons in Rio Janeiro, praising the United States for going to war, and urging Brazil to do likewise. These were his closing words:

God did not kindle this conflagration to consume the human race, but to save it. From the great calamity will come a great renewal. On the curve of the blood-reddened horizon already glow the first dawns of a better world. Down will go the arbitrary Governments, and up will rise the Governments of law. Yesterday, Russia; tomorrow, Germany—and then others!

God grant that we, too, my fellow-citizens, may drink in this regenerating spirit, this spirit of genuine heroism, of human devotion, of liberal self-sacrifice, and that our nationality, our Constitution, our social life, revived in these fountains, may mitigate the present and insure us better days in the future, so that our moral stature may grow, so that we may be worthy of our place upon the earth. Then I shall be able to see in my declining years the realization of the patriotic dream of my youth; a Brazil in whose every act our hearts shall be able to discern, as in Milton's vision, "a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks!"

Greece Joins the Allies

How Constantine Departed

SINCE the abdication of King Constantine in favor of his second son, Alexander, who is now King of the Hellenes, a complete change has come over the attitude of the Greek Government, and the division of the nation into two factions has been brought to an end. Further light has been thrown on the course of events (see *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, July, 1917, Pages 83-85) by documents which have now come to hand, as well as by later dispatches.

The full text of the ultimatum which High Commissioner Jonnart presented to Premier Zaimis in Athens on June 11 was made public by the Greek Legation at Washington. It read:

The protecting powers of Greece have decided to reconstitute the unity of the kingdom without impairing the monarchical constitutional institutions that they have guaranteed to Greece. His Majesty King Constantine, having manifestly on his own initiative violated the Constitution of which France, England, and Russia are the trustees, I have the honor to declare to your Excellency that his Majesty the King has lost the confidence of the protecting powers, and that the latter consider themselves free toward him from the obligations resulting from their right of protection.

I have in consequence the mission, with a view of re-establishing the real Constitution, to ask for the abdication of his Majesty King Constantine, who will himself designate, together with the protecting powers, a successor among his heirs. I am under the obligation to ask from you an answer within twenty-four hours.

Constantine, as already recorded, abdicated and left Athens for Switzerland, and with him were expelled several leading men among his supporters, including former Minister Gounaris, General Dousmanis, and Colonel Metaxas. The final scenes are described in dispatches from the Athens correspondent of *The London Times*.

On the morning of June 11, after Zaimis had seen Jonnart and learned that the Allies' decision that Constantine should abdicate was irrevocable, the Premier went straight back to the King's

palace and told him of his fate. The narrative then proceeds:

The King listened with great calm, and said to M. Zaimis: "I desire the Crown Council to be summoned." M. Zaimis, much distressed, left the room, and the King retired to his study, where some minutes after one of his Aides de Camp found him deep in a chair, his head bent on his hand, and "very pensive."

At 11:30 o'clock the Crown Council began, there being present, besides M. Zaimis, M. Skouloudis, M. Lambros, M. Dimitrakopoulos, M. Gounaris, M. Stratos, M. Kalogheropoulos, M. Rallis, and M. Dragoumis—all ex-Prime Ministers.

When they were seated, the King read to them the demands of the Allies. It is difficult to be quite sure of what happened, but it seems certain that when the King pronounced the fateful words demanding his abdication he turned toward them as for their opinion, and M. Gounaris (the arch pro-German politician) half rose and said: "Impossible! It is impossible that—" when the King stopped him, raised his hand, and said: "I have decided to accept."

The Council lasted till 2:30 o'clock, the Ministers insisting on seeing if a way of satisfying the Allies' demands could not be found without the abdication of the King, but it all ended in their recognizing the hopelessness of the situation, and the Council was dismissed by the King.

The demeanor of the Ministers as they came out showed the throng of waiting journalists that they had heard grave news, but they would not speak. M. Gounaris seemed incapable of speaking. M. Skouloudis, under whose Premiership Fort Rupel was handed over to the Bulgarians and the disasters of today largely prepared, was pale and shaking, and had to be assisted into his motor car. When he reached home he remained prostrate for a considerable time.

The deposed monarch's departure from the shores of Greece is described by the Athens correspondent of *The London Times*, under date of June 14:

The departure of ex-King Constantine, with Queen Sophie, the Crown Prince, the Princesses, and Prince Paul, which I witnessed this morning at Oropos, a small port in the Gulf of Euboea, took place very quietly.

Oropos is a tiny fishing village with a small jetty. All the night and all the morning motor cars had been bringing the King's luggage. A number of the King's personal friends came to see him off. The late King

George's yacht *Sphakteria* was refitted rapidly to receive the royal family, and lay off Oropos this morning escorted by two French destroyers whose Tricolors flapped broadly against the Euboean hills.

The ex-King and Queen and the Crown Prince arrived in motor cars shortly after 11 o'clock. The King wore a General's uniform and got slowly out of the car, which drew up close to the jetty, where two French officers stood rigidly. A small group of country people and schoolgirls mingled with M. Zaimis, the Prime Minister, courtiers, and official personages.

The King was pale, but erect and composed. He took a bouquet of flowers which a small child on the top of a wall thrust out to him. People gave subdued cheers, and peasants on the jetty knelt as the King and Queen passed them. The King made way for the Queen, bidding the people let them pass. The royal family then quickly entered a waiting motor launch and were borne to their vessel.

The King was dignified and bowed and saluted, but he scarcely uttered a word from the moment of his arrival till the launch cast off. Several of his friends were weeping. One man threw himself in the water in an endeavor, apparently, to follow the royal boat, but he was rescued.

The new King, Alexander, on ascending the throne, issued a proclamation in the following terms:

At the moment when my venerated father, making to the Fatherland the supreme sacrifice, intrusts me with the heavy duties of the Hellenic throne, I pray that God, granting his wishes, may protect Greece and permit us to see it once more united and strong.

In the grief of being separated in such painful circumstances from my well-beloved father I have the single consolation of obeying his sacred command. With all my energy I shall try to carry it out by following along the lines which so magnificently marked his reign, with the help of the people on whose love the Greek dynasty rests.

I have the conviction that, in obeying the will of my father, the people by their submission will contribute to our being able together to draw our well-beloved country out of the situation in which it now is.

The publication of this proclamation came as a shock to Great Britain, France, and Italy. The question was raised whether the Allies had not been hoodwinked and if another German diplomatic trick had not succeeded in the Balkans. Everywhere the demand was made that the Allies take direct control of Greece, establish Venizelos in power, and keep him there by force if necessary.

Jonnart indirectly but very effectively

replied to the young King's proclamation in the following manifesto addressed to the Greek people:

France, Great Britain, and Russia desire to see Greece independent, great, and prosperous, and they mean to defend the noble country, which they have liberated, against the united efforts of the Turks, Bulgarians, and Germans. They (the Entente Allies) are here to circumvent the manoeuvres of the kingdom's hereditary enemies; they want to end the repeated violations of the Constitution and of the treaties and the deplorable intrigues which have resulted in the massacre of soldiers of the united countries.

Berlin until now has commanded Athens and has been gradually bringing the people under the yoke of the Bulgarians and Germans. We have resolved to re-establish the constitutional rights and unity of Greece. The protecting powers have in consequence demanded the abdication of King Constantine. But they do not intend to touch the constitutional monarchy. They have no other ambitions than to assure the regular operation of the Constitution to which King George of glorious memory had always been scrupulously faithful and which King Constantine has ceased to respect.

Greeks! the hour of reconciliation has come. Your destinies are closely associated with those of the protecting powers. Your ideal is the same. Your hopes are the same. We appeal to your wisdom and patriotism. The blockade is now raised. Every reprisal against the Greeks, no matter by whom, will be pitilessly suppressed. No attempt against the public order will be tolerated. The property and liberty of all will be safeguarded. A new era of peace and work is opening before you.

Know that the protecting powers, respectful of the national sovereignty, have no intention of imposing upon the Greek people a general mobilization.

Long live Greece, united, great, and free!

On the invitation of M. Jonnart, Venizelos arrived at Piraeus on June 21. He received a great welcome from a crowd of several thousand persons and with Jonnart's approval entered into negotiations with Premier Zaimis for a fusion of the two parties. Meanwhile, King Alexander in a letter to Zaimis described himself as the faithful guardian of the Constitution, and thereby repaired the mistake he had made in his first proclamation. The new King made it clear that he was willing to comply with all the demands of the Entente Allies. But now it was Zaimis who refused to be their obedient servant. Jonnart demanded the convocation of the Parliament of

May 31, 1915, in which Venizelos had had a majority and which Constantine had dissolved. Zaimis, refusing to take responsibility for this step, resigned, and once more Venizelos returned to power. On June 27 the new Ministry, of which he became head, took the oath. Its personnel was as follows:

Premier and Minister of War—M. VENIZELOS.

Minister of the Interior—M. REPOULIES.

Minister of Justice—M. TSIRIMOKOS.

Minister of Foreign Affairs—M. POLITIS.

Minister of Marine—Admiral P. COUNDOURIOTIS.

Minister of Finance—M. MICHSALACPOUDOS.

Minister of Agriculture—M. NEGROPONTES.

Minister of Communications—M. PAPANASTASION.

Minister of Education—M. DINGAS.

Minister of Food Supplies—M. EMBIRKOS.

Minister of Relief for Refugees—M. SIMOS.

Dispatches from Athens dated June 29 announced that the Greek Government had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany and her allies. The Greek Ministers at Berlin, Vienna, Sofia, and Constantinople were instructed to leave their posts and place their archives with the Netherlands Legations. This did not mean that Greece was going to war at once. Venizelos, when taking the oath of office, made the following statement:

We realize that unless we drive the Bulgarians from Eastern Macedonia that part of Greek territory will be always exposed to great danger. Before, however, thinking of mobilizing that part of Greece which has not shared in our movement, we must vitalize its military organization, which has fallen into such decay, and bring about a fusion of the two armies in brotherly co-operation. Therefore, we shall now call out the untrained classes of 1916 and 1917.

With the abdication of Constantine and with Venizelos once more guiding the destinies of Greece, administrative control of various Governmental services by the Entente Allies was gradually withdrawn, but it was decided that the telegraphs and the censorship should still be supervised by representatives of the Allies, in co-operation with the Greek Government. The raising of the blockade had already been announced on June 19.

An important result of the political change in Greece was seen in the report of General Sarraill, whose French troops

were in occupation of Thessaly, that the movements of troops were being carried out without difficulty. All the communes in the region of Larissa and Volo spontaneously transferred their allegiance to the Venizelos Government and installed new civil authorities.

Constantine and his family arrived at Lugano, Switzerland, on June 20. Officers and delegates of the Swiss Government met him at the frontier and welcomed him in the name of Switzerland. A large number of German personages waited for the ex-King at the station, including Prince and Princess von Bülow and Dr. von Mühlberg, German Minister to the Vatican. The Greek Minister to Berne was also present. A number of German diplomats arrived at Lugano for the coming of the former King, who was delayed by the illness of his wife. A long telegram from the German Emperor was handed to Constantine as soon as he left the train. He was very coolly received by the crowds. After dinner he attended an open-air concert, where he was recognized and hissed by a group of strangers who were leaving. On entering the concert the former King was jostled, and he left later by a rear door to avoid the curious crowds.

Georgios Streit, former Adviser of the Greek Foreign Office, who is one of Constantine's entourage, announced on June 22 that in consequence of his wound the ex-King needed careful nursing and complete rest, and his physicians had advised him to proceed immediately to a sanatorium in the mountains, where he was to live merely for his health and family. The Queen, too, was not in good health after troubles and tribulations of the last year. According to other reports he and the ex-Queen were greatly shocked at their reception in Switzerland.

The Greek War Record

The leading episodes in King Constantine's policy from the time the question of Greek intervention in the war was first raised by the proposal that Greek troops should be sent to Gallipoli are set out in the following chronological table by The London Times:

March, 1915.—King Constantine refuses M. Venizelos's proposal for intervention in Gal-

Ipoli; M. Venizelos resigns the Premiership.

May, 1915.—M. Gounaris, (Pro-German,) Prime Minister.

June, 1915.—General election in Greece results in a Venizelist majority.

August, 1915.—M. Venizelos again becomes Prime Minister.

Sept. 18, 1915.—King Constantine and M. Venizelos "in complete agreement" about Balkan policy.

Sept. 21, 1915.—M. Venizelos invites France and Great Britain to send troops to Saloniki to aid Serbia.

Sept. 23, 1915.—King Constantine signs decree mobilizing Greek Army; to support, as is supposed, Serbia against Central Powers and Bulgaria.

Oct. 3, 1915.—First Anglo-French troops reach Saloniki.

Oct. 4, 1915.—M. Venizelos announces that the Greek Government "will not oppose the Anglo-French armies hastening to the aid of the Serbians, the allies of Greece."

Oct. 5, 1915.—King Constantine dismisses M. Venizelos from office. Serbia's appeal to Greece to fulfill her treaty obligations and come to her aid when attacked refused. King Constantine alleges that the treaty refers only to an attack on Serbia by a Balkan foe, not to a war against Germany and Austria. "If Greece intervenes she will share the fate of Belgium."

November, 1915.—Protest by Allies against interference by Greece with the movement of Franco-British troops; partial blockade of Greece.

March, 1916.—Greek officers in Macedonia instructed not to oppose the Bulgarian advance into Greece.

May, 1916.—Greek Government refuses facilities for Serbian Army to cross Greece by rail.

May 26, 1916.—On orders approved by King Constantine, Greek commander surrenders Fort Rupel to Bulgarians; Entente Powers thereupon blockade Greek ports.

August, 1916.—Greek division in Eastern Macedonia "surrenders" to Bulgarians and is conveyed to Germany.

Aug. 27, 1916.—M. Venizelos appeals to King Constantine to "put himself at the head of the nation and defend Greece's honor and territory." King Constantine declines.

Sept. 25, 1916.—M. Venizelos breaks with King Constantine and proclaims a Provisional Government. Most of the islands and part of mainland of Greece adhere to M. Venizelos.

Nov. 24, 1916.—In consequence of anti-ally acts of King Constantine's Government, Entente Powers present ultimatum to Greece; Greece refuses to surrender certain guns.

Dec. 1, 1916.—Allied troops landed at Athens fired on by King Constantine's troops; several killed. Reign of terror at Athens. Venizelists tortured.

Dec. 14, 1916.—Another ultimatum to Greece. M. Venizelos charged with treason by King Constantine.

Jan. 8, 1917.—New note to Greece; evasive reply.

February-May, 1917.—Continuance of King Constantine's intrigues with Germany; peril to the rear of the allied army in Macedonia. Blockade of Greece continues.

June 7, 1917.—M. Jonnart arrives in Greece as High Commissioner of the Protecting Powers.

June 12, 1917.—King Constantine abdicates, and is succeeded by his son Alexander.

Re-establishing Albania

Rival Plans of Autonomy, and How They Conflict with Albania's Desire for Independence

This article, written by a native Albanian now in the United States, summarizes the latest attempts to solve the knotty problem of what shall be done with Albania. It supplements the brief sketches of "Albanian Autonomy" and "The New Republic of Koritza" which appeared in the July issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

WHILE the diplomatic pourparlers for the abdication of King Constantine and for the clearing up of the situation in Greece were going on, the Allies were taking the necessary steps toward the settlement of another important and vexatious question concerning the Balkans. On June 3, 1917, the Italian Government proclaimed the independence of Albania, in apparent accord with England and

France, and placed the new State under Italian protection, marking a new turning point in the Balkan situation.

Albania had proclaimed her independence early in 1912, and the London conference of the same year recognized and guaranteed her autonomy by placing the new principality under the collective protection of the six great European powers who undertook to organize it. They placed on the throne of Albania Prince

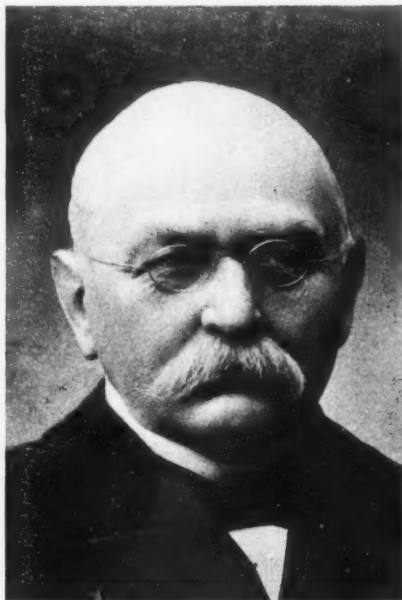
PHILIPP SCHEIDEMANN



Leader of the Majority Socialist Group in the German Reichstag and a Prominent Figure in Recent Efforts to Bring About Peace.

(Photo Paul Thompson)

STATESMEN OF NEUTRAL NATIONS



GUNNAR KNUDSEN,
Premier of Norway.

(Photo Bain News Service)



C. T. ZAHLE,
Premier of Denmark.

(Photo Bain News Service)



GUSTAVE ADOR
The New Foreign Minister of
Switzerland.

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)



EDUARDO DATO
Premier of Spain.

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)



MAP SHOWING ALBANIA'S POSITION IN RELATION TO THE POWERS SEEKING TO CONTROL ITS DESTINY. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY HOLDS THE NORTHERN PORTION

William of Wied, a German Prince. With the outbreak of the European war, the Prince was forced to abandon his realm, after a troubled reign of about seven months, and Albania fell a prey of her neighbors, Serbians, Montenegrins, and Greeks. After several changes of occupants, her territory came into the possession of Austria and Italy, the former holding Northern and Central Albania, about two-thirds of the whole territory, and the latter the rest of it.

The Italian action in proclaiming the independence of Albania took place as a result of two tentative steps made separately by France and Austria.

In October, 1916, an Anglo-French detachment took possession of the City of Koritza and of the adjoining territory in Eastern Albania, by expelling therefrom the Greek royalist troops. On Dec. 10 the French commander, Colonel Descoins, proclaimed the autonomy of the region of Koritza, a district of about 100,000 inhabitants, under French protection. The French commander was forced by the Albanian militia of that region to issue a formal proclamation, and according to a duly signed protocol the tiny State was made a provisional republic.

Following the action of France, which had deeply impressed the Albanians living under Austrian occupation, the commander of the Austro-Hungarian troops

in Albania issued on March 9, 1917, a ringing proclamation to the Albanians by which he guaranteed, in the name of his Government, the independence of the whole of Albania, under Austrian protection, and invited the Albanians to join the Austrian troops in the war against the allied forces in the Balkans.

Next it was Italy's turn. She had declared, on entering the war against the Central Powers, that one of her chief war aims was the re-establishment of the independence of Albania and the elimination of Austrian influence in that part of the Balkans. She had irritated Greece by wresting Southern Albania from her, and had crossed even the frontiers decided upon in the London Conference, by occupying a large part of what is called Albania Irredenta. On June 3 General Ferrero, commander of the Italian troops in Southern Albania, read a formal proclamation at Argyrocastro, before a crowded assembly of Albanian notables. The text is as follows:

To the whole people of Albania:

Today, June 3, 1917, the memorable anniversary of the establishment of Italian constitutional liberties, I, General Giacinto Ferrero, commander of the Italian expeditionary forces in Albania, do solemnly proclaim, in accordance with the orders of his Majesty, King Victor Emmanuel, the unity and independence of the whole of Albania, under the shield and protection of the Italian Kingdom.

By this proclamation you, Albanians, have a free Government, an army, tribunals, schools, all made up of Albanians, and are free to use as you wish your property and the fruits of your labor, for your own benefit and for the enrichment of your country.

Albanians!

Wherever you are, whether free in the land of your birth, an old and honorable race, or in exile in other countries and under foreign domination, we are bringing you back to the civilization of the Romans and of the Venetians.

You know the bonds that unite the Italian and Albanian interests. The sea divides them, and at the same time the sea binds them together. Let all good citizens, then, stand unitedly, having faith in the future of your beloved nation. Come, all of you, under the flags of Albania and Italy, and pledge yourselves to Albania, which is today proclaimed independent, in the name of the Italian Government and under its friendly protection.

This proclamation of the Italian Government was the subject of copious comments throughout the allied countries. For many days the Italian newspapers devoted columns and pages to the great importance of the proclamation, emphasizing the paramount necessity of such a measure to bar Austria from the Adriatic Sea. *La Tribuna* of Rome on June 5 stated that many misgivings in regard to the aims of Italy have been in the air, but that the proclamation of the independence of Albania was proof that Italy was acting in accordance with the principle of nationalities. *Il Giornale d'Italia*, the organ of Baron Sonnino, saluted the independence of Albania in these words:

"Italy, well aware that there is no sacrifice too great for the inestimable boon of liberty, salutes with joy and with confidence in the triumph of justice the ancient people of Albania."

The impression made in Petrograd, however, by the proclamation of the Italian protectorate on Albania was the reverse of what it was expected to be, and M. Terestchenko, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, asked for more ample explanations as to the meaning of the "protectorate." On the other hand, when questions were raised in the House of Commons and the French Chamber of Deputies on the same subject, Lord Cecil replied, on June 13, that the Italian pro-

tectorate over Albania did not convey any material privileges to Italy, and Jules Cambon declared that the Italian protection must be considered in the light of the exclusion of Austrian influence only.

The attitude of the Albanian press was anything but complaisant. Commenting editorially on the Italian action, the newspaper *Dielli*, (the Sun,) organ of the nationalist Albanians in America, wrote on June 8:

"The proclamations by Austria and Italy, which came one after the other, are neither welcome nor well sounding. These powers are disputing between them the right of protection over Albania. The way in which each desires to reorganize and dominate Albania cannot meet our approval. We acknowledge with boundless pleasure any friendly protection, but we cannot even for a moment agree that Albania be reduced to the state of a vassal country. The Albanians are fighting for the real independence of Albania, and for this we can rely on the assistance of her friends only. The Albanians desire that Albania should be for the Albanians. They do not wish her to be the tool of either Austria or Italy. Such a servile Albania would be the worst element in the Balkans, a fire-maker in the already troublesome peninsula. * * *

Acrimonious criticisms in the press and in diplomatic circles of the allied powers, as to the Italian protection, led Baron Sonnino, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to make further official declarations. On June 22 he stated that the independence of Albania was a thing to be desired, being in accordance with the principles expounded by President Wilson and espoused by the Allies.

The situation in Albania is likely to be further complicated by the advent of M. Venizelos as Premier of Greece. The Greek statesman is understood to make the participation of Greece in the war by the side of the Allies conditional upon the elimination of Italy's ambitions in Albania.

Canada's Three Years of War

By Frank Yeigh

WHEN Father Time ticks off the 4th of August, 1917, Canada will have ended three years of experience as a war country. Looking back on this stirring period and on her record as a participating ally, the Dominion can at least have the satisfaction of knowing that her response to the call of the motherland and civilization was as prompt as it was definite. The story of the enlistment of the first troops, their initial training in a hastily improvised camp, and their passage overseas, guarded by a part of the British fleet, will long be a creditable chapter in the history of Canada. The first Canadian contingent, comprising nearly 33,000 men, 7,500 horses, and 70 pieces of artillery, was the largest military force that up to that time had ever crossed any ocean to go to any war.

When war was declared, and Canada without delay promised England her aid, the plan of voluntary enlistment was adopted as the one best suited to a country so democratic and in which strong emphasis is placed on individual liberty. The cry of the recruiter was at once heard throughout the land; appeals were made from platform and press, organizations of all kinds became recruiting agencies, and the Church added its voice in solicitation. This method resulted in the raising of the first 400,000, but it now seems unable to go further. The chief criticism of the plan is that it is unfair and unequal in its operation. This is illustrated by the fact that only one man out of fifty joined the forces from Quebec, as against one out of sixteen in Ontario and one out of twelve in the Canadian West. It also left many a slacker untouched, while married men with home ties and responsibilities, or valuable toilers, felt the call and enlisted.

Total Enlistment Figures

Canada's total enlisted force, up to June 15, 1917, was 421,767. According to a recent statement made in the House

of Commons by the Minister of Militia, there were, of the above total, in May last 136,400 troops of all ranks in France, with 747 in the Near East and 120 at St. Lucia. There were at the same time 180,326 in England, not counting those in hospitals and convalescent homes. On June 1, 1917, there were 17,353 troops of the Canadian expeditionary forces of all ranks in Canada, gathered in a series of military training camps.

Of the men sent overseas 14,100 were French Canadians. The number of native-born Canadians speaking the English language who have gone overseas is given as 125,245, and the number of British subjects born outside of Canada who have gone overseas, 155,095. The British-born members of the Canadian Army outnumbered the Canadian-born by about 15,000.

It is estimated that Canada has 1,583,549 men of military age, (based on the census of 1911,) of whom 760,453 are single and therefore the first subject to any conscription call, and 680,307 married, between the ages of 20 and 45, or nearly a half-and-half proportion.

A system of national service registration was next adopted. This was obligatory on men beyond the military age, and called upon them to describe their present occupations and responsibilities and to place themselves at the disposal of the Government for whatever service it might determine. A million and a quarter responded, but it is asserted that few practical results have ensued, and that as a source of military strength it has proved ineffectual. The same might be said of the putting into force of a long-standing Militia act, under which men of military age are liable to be called out for home defense. Enlistments were asked under this act, but with few results. Volunteers said in effect that they were willing to be stay-at-home

fighters, but drew the line at overseas service.

The increasingly imperative need for further reinforcements, not only to bring up the Canadian Army to the standard of half a million promised early in the war by the Premier, but to replace the wastage in the ranks, led the Government in June, 1917, to bring in the Military Service bill, which is, in essence, like that of the United States, a selective conscription plan. At the present writing this bill is under discussion in Parliament and throughout the country.

More Than 100,000 Casualties

The casualties in the Canadian ranks have passed the 100,000 mark. On June 22, 1917, there were nearly 30,000 hospital cases; of this number 22,067 were in the United Kingdom and 7,271 in Canada. There were 2,295 Canadian prisoners of war in Germany. Canadians had won, up to the first of January, 1917, 2,715 decorations, including six Victoria Crosses, 329 Military Crosses, and 1,138 military medals.

It is estimated that the war thus far has cost Canada \$600,000,000, and that it is now costing over a million a day. The estimate for the year 1917 alone is \$433,274,000. To meet this expenditure and establish a line of credit with Great Britain, three Government bond issues have been floated, totaling \$350,000,000. Each was largely and quickly oversubscribed, and a fourth is foreshadowed for the Fall. They bear 5 per cent. interest.

As financial aid to England the Dominion Government has contributed \$200,000,000 as a loan to the Imperial Treasury, in connection with the financing of munition orders; it also has arranged with the Canadian banks for advances aggregating another \$100,000,000. England, on the other hand, advanced to Canada, up to March 30, 1917, \$692,000,000. The imperial and international financing is one of the most remarkable features of the war.

The war expenditure is responsible for a steady increase in the public debt of the Dominion. Whereas the debt stood at \$327,000,000 before the war, it had risen to \$722,111,000 by Dec. 31, 1916,

and it is estimated that it will reach a total of \$1,200,000,000 by the end of 1918 if the struggle continues until then.

Canada's special war taxes are yielding approximately \$65,000,000 a year, made up, for the last fiscal year, as follows: Excess profits tax, \$15,600,000; war tariff, \$37,000,000; bank tax, \$1,000,000; loan companies, \$400,000; spirits and tobacco, \$7,000,000; extra postage, \$6,000,000. The excess profits tax, which raised \$12,500,000 the first year, is expected to produce \$20,000,000 during the current year under an increased schedule. An income tax is also foreshadowed.

Millions for Relief Work

Canada's war gifts, Governmental and private, have been on a most generous scale. Private benefactions, through such agencies as the Red Cross, the Patriotic Fund and other relief funds, total \$60,000,000, and the ratio of giving is continually rising. Every province gave, during the first year of the war, large stores of flour, grain, and other food products, coal and horses. These included a million bags of flour from the Dominion, 250,000 bags from Ontario, and 50,000 from Manitoba; 4,000,000 pounds of cheese from Quebec; 500,000 tons of coal from Nova Scotia; oats, cheese, and hay from Prince Edward Island; 100,000 bushels of potatoes from New Brunswick; 1,200,000 cans of salmon from British Columbia, and 1,500 horses from Saskatchewan. The Patriotic Acre in Saskatchewan has produced tangible results. The school children, too, have raised large sums in the aggregate, through food production and otherwise, and have presented some ambulances to the Red Cross. In a word, every section of the Dominion and almost every class of the population have contributed and are still doing so on a substantial scale.

Some of the most generous gifts of men and means have been made in connection with the hospital service at home and overseas. Several of the larger Canadian universities have equipped war hospitals and manned them with doctors and nurses, and supplies therefor are provided as a gift from those at home. The universities have sent thousands of under-

graduates to the front, so that their halls are practically empty and educational work is almost at a standstill. Officers' training corps of students have been popular from the outset, and these are also being maintained as a source for supplying officers.

Provincial Governments are aiding in providing practical work for the returned soldiers. Ontario has made a start in this direction by training a number of men on the Monteith Government Farm in Northern Ontario. Following the training the men will be given homesteads free of cost, after proving their fitness for the work. They receive soldiers' pay while in training. Alberta also is active in the care and re-employment of those who need help of this kind. A Soldiers' Aid Committee is operating in 500 different places, seeking not only to act as the friend of the soldier in a variety of ways, but to assist some in settling on Government lands. No less than 3,693 returned soldiers have been given positions in the Government service, and vocational training is being conducted in a number of centres. The great war veterans' association, with a membership of over 10,000, is also looking after the interests of the homecoming men.

Caring for the Wounded

The care of the returned soldier who is invalided is under a Military Hospitals Commission appointed by the Government. On the arrival of the men at a Canadian port, such as Halifax, St. John, or Quebec, distribution is made according to their condition and ultimate destination. At Quebec the commodious immigration buildings of the Government are being utilized for this work. For transportation of the more serious cases, sleeping cars, specially fitted up as hospital cars, are used. A large number of military hospitals have been provided in different sections of the country, many Government institutions being used to house hundreds of men.

The Canadian Patriotic Fund, a remarkable voluntary achievement, has raised over \$30,000,000. A million a month is being paid out through this channel as an auxiliary help to the soldier and his dependents, in addition to

the Government pay of \$1.10 a day to the private and a separation allowance for his family. This fund has done much to stimulate recruiting by assuring the soldier of a degree of support for those dependent upon him. The Red Cross has been no less generously supported; in fact, almost every city exceeds the sum asked from it.

In addition to the Government pay and the patriotic funds, several municipalities, like Toronto, have insured their enlisted men, mostly for \$1,000 each. Many corporations and large employers of labor are performing a similar service for their employes.

W. J. Hanna, a Cabinet member, was appointed National Food Controller in June, 1917, and is working in harmony with Mr. Hoover, who occupies a similar position for the United States. The Canadian Food Controller, like the American, has been given wide powers and has already issued a manifesto to the people urging maximum production, prevention of waste, and the largest possible consumption of perishable foodstuffs in order to liberate the storable foods for transportation. A National Fuel Controller has also been appointed, to whom has been given wide powers, especially in reference to the coal situation both for manufacturing and domestic use.

Munitions and Aviation

Canada has become an important munition supplying country, operating under the Imperial Munitions Board. The board had placed, up to April last, \$850,000,000 worth of orders in the Dominion, employing over 250,000 persons in 630 factories.

Britain is now spending \$80,000,000 in aviation training in Canada. Formerly these aviation camps were left partly to private enterprise, but the Government has now installed large ones in several of the provinces. Several aero squadrons are in process of enlistment, and large numbers of machines are to be made in Canada.

The effects of the war on Canada, commercially and industrially, have been most marked. The circulation of extra millions of dollars is felt in a new buoyancy of trade, though the trade channels

are necessarily changed from their pre-war directions. The 22,000 industrial plants of the Dominion are working for the most part to their capacity, often on day and night shifts. The flour and saw mills tell the same story, while the 500 branch United States industries established in Canada find themselves fully occupied.

Exceptionally high wages prevail, though the cost of living shows a steady increase that offsets the wage scale and creates an alarming condition for those on small fixed salaries. Some of the railways are suffering from a lack of adequate rolling stock to meet the exceptional demands. Gauged by the bank figures, both as to deposited savings and loans made, the country is enjoying a degree of economic prosperity that is enabling it to handle the war cost. The Dominion, for example, had a surplus of \$60,000,000 during its last fiscal year as between the current revenue and expenditure.

The Governments, both Federal and Provincial, have appointed commissions to deal with resources and to conduct thrift and food production campaigns. A scientific research council is at work. The Governments are using their legislative powers to the utmost, especially in the Federal realm, through the appointment of food, fuel, and other controllers. The mobilization of the resources of the country, both in men and resources, is being carried on to an ever-increasing extent. Along with the movement for conscription of men there is a strong demand for the conscription of wealth and of profits to an extent not yet reached.

Such, in brief, is the three-year story of Canada at war. The period presents an interesting study of development under absolutely new conditions. Errors naturally crept in at first, but the machinery of war is working more smoothly now, and the national will is becoming more and more fixed on seeing the struggle through to a satisfactory end.

Canadian Indians at the Front

By Verne De Witt Rowell

In striking contrast to the bitter racial discussions provoked in Canada by the charges of the Toronto journalistic school that French Canada has not done her duty in the matter of recruiting men for overseas service is the fervent patriotism of the old-time Indian allies of the French and English in America. In all, approximately 5,000 Canadian Indians have been trained in Indian companies of overseas units and been sent to France to fight for the allied cause. The only tribe that has not sent its full quota of recruits to the firing line in Europe is that of the Eskimo Indians; and while they might prove excellent warriors during the Winter months, they obviously would not survive a Summer campaign.

The once ferocious and formidable Blackfeet Indians, who lived on buffalo meat and were the terror of explorers and outlying settlements, have sent sev-

eral companies. The Crees of the Slave Lake and Hudson Bay regions have sent their representatives in khaki, and the Indians of Eastern Canada have in many instances sent practically the full number of eligible males in their tribes.

In the early days of American colonization, when the French and English contended in warfare, each was aided by an Indian nation, the French by the Algonquin federation, and the English by the Iroquois, or Six Nation Indians. The Algonquins, largely domesticated, tilled the soil and lived in more or less permanent settlements in the territory now forming the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Time and again did the French establish colonies along the St. Lawrence and the northern shores of the Great Lakes to engage in the fur trade with their Algonquin friends, but nearly always did these colonies disappear before the fierce raids of the Iroquois warriors,

who made their home in Western New York, and, as the unfailing allies of the New England British colonists, swooped over the Niagara and St. Lawrence frontiers, burning and ravaging the French settlements and scalping all the French palefaces they could lay their hands on. Today, under the Canadian flag, Iroquois and Algonquins are fighting side by side in the same Indian companies for the new, united cause of the French, the English, and the great nation that has sprung from the little New England and Pennsylvania settlements of those early days.

Since New Year's, 1917, companies of American Indians have been holding front-line trenches on the western front, and they would have been there nearly three years ago had not an order of the Canadian Militia Department, for some reason never quite explained, forbidden recruiting among the Indians when the war first commenced. But no sooner had the war clouds broken in Europe, in August, 1914, than the Indian tribes one and all met in their tribal councils, pledged firm allegiance, and offered their service to the British Crown, subscribed from their tribal funds money to the Red Cross and to buy machine guns, and petitioned to be allowed to go overseas as fighting men.

The Canadian Indian, not being a citizen, knows no politics as yet. He knows nothing of nationalism, neither that of the French-Canadian variety, which has something of a racial basis, nor the now unheard-of nationalism of the English-speaking Canadian, which was just budding before the war, and which, as one of its manifestations, opposed strenuously any contribution by Canada to an imperial navy. The Indian is loyal to the Crown; he is a monarchist. Whether his views will change when he becomes a citizen, as it is expected he will as a reward for his services in the war, remains to be seen. The agitation for citizenship is now led by the better educated of the old chiefs of the tribes, too old to go on the war trail themselves, but who have given their sons freely, and when these young warriors return, their education broadened by contact with the death grapple between European civilization and bar-

barism, it goes without saying that they, too, will expect some voice in the direction of their country's affairs.

Chief Scobie Logan of the "Munseys of the Thames," one of the smallest but most progressive and highly educated Indian tribes in America, is an ardent advocate of his people in their claim to citizenship. His only son was the first Indian killed in the war, having enlisted in a Western Ontario unit and gone overseas before any Indian companies were authorized. In several other instances recruiting officers winked at the regulations and enlisted individual Indians in white units. Tales of wonderful Indian snipers who were a law unto themselves and amply earned their exemption from disciplinary rule prescribed for their pale-skin comrades by bringing scores of Germans to the earth found their way into print early in the war. But at the most there were only two or three full-blooded Indians in the first contingent.

The first Indian company to arrive in France was the 135th Middlesex, which crossed the English Channel in December, 1916, after training several months in England. Other Indian units from Western Ontario which soon followed the Middlesex Indians to the trenches were the 149th Lambton Battalion Indians, Chippewas of Walpole Island and Sarnia Reserve; the 160th Bruce Battalion, Saugeen Indians from the remote Georgian Bay district, near the former scene of a bloody massacre of early Christianized Hurons by the Iroquois; the 114th Haldimand County Battalion Indians, and the Mohawks of the Brant County battalions.

The Mohawks have the distinction of giving to Canada one of her finest woman writers, E. Pauline Johnson, or "Tekahionwake," who died several years ago at Vancouver. United Empire Loyalists, the Mohawks came to Canada after the American Revolution and settled near where the City of Brantford is, known widely as the "Telephone City," where Alexander Graham Bell first perfected his epoch-making invention.

The Middlesex County Indians included representatives of three tribes, the Algonquin Chippewas, the Iroquois Oneidas,

and the Munseys, who a century ago came from the Susquehanna River district in the southland, and, welcomed in their homeless wanderings by the Chippewa chief, were allotted one square mile of territory on the Chippewa Reserve, near the picturesque little paleface village of Middlemiss, Ont. Throwing his blanket on the ground and drawing with chalk a map of his territory, the Chippewa chief marked off the little corner which henceforth should be the home of the Munseys. Before the war many of the Oneidas clung to their pagan faith, and in so doing were the last of their race to resist Christianity. Letters from the trenches, however, tell of many of them accepting the Christian faith at Gospel meetings held in Y. M. C. A. huts on the firing line.

Still one of the most interesting religious temples in North America is the "Long House," near Southwold, Ont., a short distance from the Michigan Central Railway connecting Buffalo and Detroit, where annually the sacrifice and feast of the "White Dog," a ceremony of purification for the sins of the year past, is held by the Oneida pagans. The plain-looking wooden building is also the Mecca and temple of the pagan Oneidas of Western New York State, but the only other remnant of the Oneida race, found at Green Bay, Wis., does not count among its members any braves who still adhere to the faith of their fathers. After all, this pagan faith is largely colored by Christian influ-

ences very similar to the Judaism of the Old Testament, and, incorporating the story of the Christ among its legends, might be aptly styled an American Islam.

Among the Chippewas of the Middlesex Indian unit are Moraviantown Indians, whose reserve on the River Thames near Chatham is believed to contain the burial place of Tecumseh, whose name is a romantic and bright one in Canadian history, on account of his brilliant assistance given to the Canadians in repelling the American invasion of 1812.

The loyalty of the Indian race in Canada may be illustrated by reference to an Indian mother now living in London, Ont. She has four sons in the war, and her baby son of 14 years also attempted to enlist. His brother, one year older, was held in England on account of his age, when it was discovered, and is now an instructor at Witley Camp. This Indian mother, whose husband is a descendant of Moses Schuyler, who led the Oneidas from New York to Ontario and founded the settlement on the Thames nearly a century ago, said recently: "Yes, I have given four of my boys, and I am sorry that my other children died when they were babies, for I would gladly have given them, too, to fight for England."

In every way the Canadian Indians have proved themselves the equals of their white comrades on the battle line.

Canada to Have Conscription

A BILL for compulsory military service by Canadians between the ages of 20 and 45 years was presented in the House of Commons on June 11, 1917, by Sir Robert Borden. The measure at once precipitated a bitter controversy. Emboldened by the apparent inactivity of the authorities against the campaign of sedition which was fostered throughout the Province of Quebec, and in which the clergy took an unostentatious but influential part in the country districts, *La Croix*, a Roman Catholic Church organ published in Mon-

treau, on June 10 frankly and pointedly advocated a policy of "down with conscription."

This was followed up immediately by an editorial in *L'Idéal Catholique*, generally considered to be the semi-official organ of the Roman Catholic Church in Montreal, in which the writer, Joseph Bégin, also an assistant editor of *La Croix*, urged Quebec to secede from the Confederation, form a French republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and impose taxes on all exports from Ontario passing down the St. Lawrence.

As both these organs are considered to be semi-official organs of the Archdiocese of Montreal, and as Archbishop Bruchesi did not remonstrate with their editors, Catholics and Protestants at Montreal assert that the Archbishop, if he had not approved of the sentiments expressed, would assuredly have taken some action. The Government took no public action.

In Parliament on July 6 the controversy eventuated in a victory for the Government, when Premier Borden's bill passed the House on second reading by a majority of sixty-three. Twenty-six Liberals voted with the Government and against their leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and only twelve English-speaking Liberals voted against the idea of conscription of the manhood of Canada. West of Montreal there were only four Liberals who voted against the bill. At 3:30 A. M. a fresh amendment was sprung upon the House regarding better treatment for wives and children of soldiers, which was also voted down.

One of the immediate results of the split in the Liberal Party over the conscription bill, which is likely to have very far-reaching effects on the political fut-

ure of Canada, is the formation of a new Liberal Party, composed of the Liberals of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. The party as at present led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it is said, is to disappear and the new party will elect its own leader.

The parliamentary contingent of western Liberals held a meeting and decided to call a convention of the Liberals of Western Canada, to be held in Winnipeg on Aug. 7 and 8. The object of the convention will be to consider the whole political situation, particularly as it affects Western Canada. The membership will include all Dominion members and Senators, Dominion Liberal candidates, and all Liberal candidates in the last provincial elections in the western provinces.

There will be a number of women, it is expected, among the delegates, each constituency in the western provinces being empowered to send four representatives.

Up to July 1 the aggregate of volunteer enlistments in Canada was 423,858. In the last two weeks of June the total enrolled was 2,358, as against 3,392 in the preceding fortnight.

The Mothers

Maurice Maeterlinck's Beautiful Tribute to Women
Who Mourn Soldier Sons

IT is they who bear the main burden of suffering in this war. In our streets and open spaces and all along the roads, in our churches, in our towns and villages, in every house we come into contact with mothers who have lost their sons or are living in an anguish more cruel than the certainty of death.

Let us try to understand their loss. They know what it means, but they do not tell the men.

Their sons are taken from them at the fairest moment of life, when their own is in its decline. When a child dies in infancy it is as though his soul had hardly gone, as though it were lingering near the mother who brought it into the world

awaiting the time when it may return in a new form. The death which visits the cradle is not the same as that which now spreads terror over the earth, but a son who dies at the age of 20 does not come back again and leaves not a gleam of hope behind him.

He carries away with him all the future that his mother had remaining to her, all that she gave to him and all his promise; the pangs, anguish, and smiles of birth and childhood, the joys of youth, the reward and the harvest of maturity, the comfort and the peace of her old age. He carries away with him something much more than himself; it is not his life only that comes to an end; it is numberless days that finish suddenly,

a whole generation that becomes extinct, a long series of faces, of little fondling hands, of play and laughter, all of which fall at one blow on the battlefield, bidding farewell to the sunshine and re-entering the earth which they have never known.

All this the eyes of our mothers perceive without understanding; and this is why, at times, the weight and sadness of their glance are more than any of us can bear.

And yet they do not weep as mothers wept in former wars. All their sons disappear one by one, and we do not hear them complain or moan as in days gone by, when great sufferings, great massacres, and great catastrophes were enwrapped by the clamors and lamentations of the mothers. They do not assemble in the public places, they do not utter recriminations, they rail at no one, they do not rebel. They swallow their sobs and stifle their tears as though obeying a command which they have passed from one to the other, unknown to the men.

We do not know what it is that sustains them and gives them the strength to bear the remnant of their lives. Some of them have other children, and we can understand that they transfer to them the love and the future which death has shattered.

Many of them have never lost or are striving to recover their faith in the eternal promises; and here, again, we can understand that they do not despair, for the mothers of the martyrs did not despair either. But thousands of others, whose home is forever deserted and whose sky is peopled by none but pale phantoms, retain the same hope as those who keep on hoping.

What gives them this courage which astonishes our eyes? When the best, the most compassionate, the wisest among us meet one of these mothers who has just stealthily wiped her eyes, so that the sight of her unhappiness may not offend

others who are happier, when they seek for words which, uttered amid the glaring directness of the most awful sorrow that can strike a human heart, shall not sound like odious or ridiculous lies, they can find hardly anything to say to her.

They speak to her of the justice and beauty of the cause for which her hero fell, of the immense and necessary sacrifice, of the remembrance and gratitude of mankind, of the irreality of life, which is measured not by the length of days but by the lofty height of duty and glory. They add that the dead do not die, that there are no dead, that those who are no more live nearer to our souls than when they were in the flesh, and that all that we loved in them lingers on in our hearts so long as it is visited by our memory and revived by our love.

But even while they speak they feel the emptiness of their speech. They are conscious that all this is true only for those whom death has not hurled into the abyss where words are nothing more than childish babble; that the most ardent memory cannot take the place of a dear reality which we touch with our hands or lips; and that the most exalted thought is as nothing compared with the daily going out and coming in, the familiar presence at meals, the morning and evening kiss, the fond embrace at the departure, and the intoxicating delight at the return.

The mothers know and feel this better than we do; and that is why they do not answer our attempts at consolation and why they listen to them in silence, finding within themselves other reasons for living and hoping than those which we, vainly searching the whole horizon of human certainty and thought, try to bring them from the outside. They resume the burden of their days without telling us whence they derive their strength or teaching us the secret of their self-sacrifice, their resignation, and their heroism.



Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

Major Dayton has long had the official recognition of the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. The article here presented is the sixth in a series which he is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, covering in a rapid and authoritative narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the great conflict.

VI.—Italy in the War

IN the Spring of 1915 public opinion in Italy finally swept aside the influence of a large conservative element in high places, and on May 19 the Chamber by a vote of 407 to 74 put the full responsibility of the decision for or against war into the hands of the Salandra Cabinet. This action was equivalent to a decision for war, because no Cabinet could have continued to hold office after denying the popular clamor. Italy declared war against Austria on May 23, 1915, and General Cadorna, Chief of the Italian General Staff, took command of the Italian armies. On Aug. 21, 1915, Italy also declared war on Turkey.

No other country entered the conflict with so much popular enthusiasm as did Italy, which had been until recently an active ally of Germany and Austria. Much that modern Italy had gained was due to Germany, for that northern master had compelled Austria to make large concessions to Italy following the crushing defeat suffered by the Italian armies at Custoza in 1866. Austria won that war with Italy on the field, but lost it at the council table, when Prussia compelled the victor to hand over the frontier provinces to the defeated.

Italy, receiving these territories as a gift, had for two generations longed to extend the conquest on the north through the Trentino to Trent and on the east side of the Adriatic to Trieste. In both regions many Italians unquestionably live on the Austrian side of the frontier, but, while it is a fact that, so far as the coast regions are concerned, Italian influence has long been felt close to the shores, a journey of a very few miles

inland would carry the traveler into Slav neighborhoods, where the Italian was heartily hated. As in the case of most politically arranged frontiers, national ambitions and complications surged back and forth in the Alps and along the Isonzo in a way that frequently fanned historic rivalries close to the flaming point. In 1881, at a critical time, Italy joined Germany and Austria in forming the Triple Alliance, but Austrian aggressions in the Balkans were viewed by Italy with strong disapproval. In 1896 Italian ambition to expand suffered a severe check in the disaster at Adowa, but in 1911 the successful war with Turkey won Tripoli and reawakened the national aptitude for real politik.

The year 1915 seemed to Italy the proper juncture to gratify the nation's aspirations. In last efforts to keep Italy from bringing war on her western frontier, Austria offered a number of concessions—territorial, commercial, and political. Italy, however, believed that, when the map of Europe should be remade after the war, the great spoils would go only to those who had fought, and so the die was cast for war.

Cadorna's Plan of Campaign

In the Winter of 1914-15 Italy had been busily preparing for war, so that Cadorna was ready to strike promptly. Two aggressive campaigns were immediately developed. One, aimed straight to the north, toward the City of Trent, sought to gain control of the many mountain passes, while the real attacks followed the line of natural approach along Lake Garda, whose northern end lay across the frontier. The most direct mili-

tary road toward Trent lies through the Valle Lagarina, which is drained by the Adige. Having passed the frontier town of Borghetto, the City of Rovereto becomes the main strategic objective, guarding, as it does, the wider valley between the mountain fastnesses to Trent, which lies only fifteen miles north of Rovereto. There is another approach to Trent from the east by way of the Val Sugana, but the approaches to that valley were

ter of fact, the Italian commander wisely concentrated his strength on his north-eastern front after making secure the approaches toward the plains of Lombardy from the north. For the sake of brevity and clearness I shall here discuss the Trentino operations before passing to the much more important campaigns on the Isonzo.

Operations in the Trentino

Italy remembered the ugly lesson at Custoza in the old war of 1866 and determined to block Austria's road into Italy past the southern end of Lake Garda by immediately shifting operations beyond the northern end of that long, narrow lake. Early in June Italian detachments had won their way well into the crests of the Dolomites, the mountain group northeast of Trent, and similar successes were readily won among the Carnic Alps, still further to the east, where it appeared as though Cadorna's men might succeed in reaching the Pusterthal railway between Lienz and Innichen.

While these thrusts were prospering to the east of Trent, several small, aggressive columns appeared among the mountains to the west, between Lake Garda and the Swiss frontier. The Val Camonica was the highway for these forces, one of which struck east through the Tonale Pass, while at least three other columns took the same general direction via passes further south. A strong force marched east through the Val de Ledro and menaced Riva, the important Austrian town at the north end of Lake Garda.

Austria remained strictly on the defensive, and for the first few weeks at least seems to have had only Landwehr and Landsturm troops with which to check the invasion. The veteran regular troops were kept in Galicia until the defeat of Ivanoff's armies was certain and Russia's attack upon the Carpathians definitely turned back. The Allies were greatly disappointed when it was seen that Italy's entrance into the war had no effect in relieving the pressure upon the Russians, for it had been confidently expected that the fresh enemy in the



GENERAL LUIGI CADORNA

guarded by the almost impregnable fortified passes of the higher mountain region.

In the first months of the war the news dispatches from Italy were so deceptive that unprofessional readers all over the world were led to believe that the conquest of the Trentino was to be an operation of a few triumphant weeks only. Two years and more have passed, and the Austrians are still secure in Trent. Unless Italy had been strong enough to engage in two great offensives and Austria too much occupied elsewhere to threaten any counterattack, it is evident that General Cadorna would never have seriously contemplated a great invasion of the Trentino while Austria continued to hold the dangerous fortified base at Gorizia on the Isonzo. As a mat-

rear would compel Austria to shift large armies to the new theatre of conflict. When Ivanoff had been defeated and driven back, some of the first-line troops were transferred to the Italian front, but Cadorna's time to have taken Trent was in the early Summer, when the Austrian Generals had little but second and third line troops with which to oppose Italy's best.

About midsummer in 1915 strong efforts were made to capture Rovereto, but without success, although the fall of the mountain town was frequently announced. In the Autumn strong columns began to make some progress north of the frontier on the west side of Lake Garda, while another force took Brentonico on the opposite side of the lake. In the Carnic Alps the Austrians repulsed frequent attacks upon their fortified lines on the Col di Lana, but could not prevent the gradual development of an Italian offensive along the upper Cordevole. With the coming of snow among the high mountains both sides began to provide white coats for the soldiers, whose ordinary uniforms would have stood out in bold relief against snowy backgrounds. In November an Italian column fought hard in an effort to advance toward Rovereto through the Adige Valley.

In December bayonet attacks, following heavy bombardments, won a number of fortified positions in the Giudicaria Valley west of Lake Garda, and in the early weeks of 1916 the Italian campaign in this region continued to make better progress. In February and March there were a series of minor battles in the direction of the Val Sugana, with the Italians almost invariably making the attacks. At the end of March the Austrians made several unsuccessful efforts to drive back from their advanced positions the columns converging toward Rovereto, and by the middle of April there were battles in the Ledro Valley only three miles west of Riva, and further to the east Italian batteries of the heaviest calibres were hurling shells toward Innchen and the Pusterthal railway.

Italy had been a year at war, and it seemed as though at last her soldiers

might be about ready to debouch from the mountain passes and begin a real invasion of the Trentino. In April, however, it began to be rumored that large Austrian reinforcements had been assembled about Trent, and on May 15 the Austrians, for the first time, assumed the offensive. With the aid of an overwhelming artillery fire they launched powerful and successful attacks on a wide front. On Armentara Ridge in the southern Sugana Valley and on Folgaria Plateau south of Rovereto 3,000 Italian prisoners were taken with a number of cannon. On the following day the attack progressed especially in the sector east of Rovereto, where the Austrian infantry stormed Zugna Gorta, and at various points over 6,000 more prisoners were taken. In counterattacks several hundred Austrians were captured in Val Sugana, but by May 24 the Italians had been driven back across the frontier with a loss of over 27,000 prisoners, 300 cannon, and many machine guns.

By the end of May the Austrian invasion of Northern Italy had established an attack which threatened the Italian fortified line of interior defense based on Arsiero and Asiago. They were ten to eleven miles into the mountains on the Italian side of the frontier and approaching the easier slopes toward the Venetian plains. Similar progress for another fortnight would have seriously threatened the communications of the main Italian armies engaged on the Isonzo.

As May ended, the Austrians were winning battles close to Arsiero and were vigorously attacking Italian fortifications on the Asiago Plateau. Early in June, after long and bitter fighting, the Italians were compelled to yield some ground on the plateau di Sette Comuni, and within less than four miles of Asiago some thousands of Italian prisoners were taken. The result of the failure to stop the Austrian invasion at the frontier threatened serious political results in emotional Italy. The Cabinet fell, several Generals were recalled, and the prestige of even General Cadorna was threatened.

Just then Russia did for Italy what

Italy had failed to do for Russia in the previous year. In April General Ivanoff had been replaced in command of the Southern Russian Armies by General A. A. Brusiloff, the brilliant cavalry leader. The new commander hurled an attack upon the Austrian lines in Volhynia and Galicia which compelled the immediate transfer of every available soldier and gun from the west to the east. That ended the Austrian threat against the Province of Venice, but the Austrians nevertheless have continued to hold approximately the same positions up to the present time, (July, 1917,) although they have been driven back somewhat from Arsiero and Asiago and have lost some ground in the Val Sugana.

Campaign on the Isonzo

While Italian popular ambition longed for the Trentino, General Cadorna, the trained soldier, knew that the necessity for the real attack lay further to the east. While very considerable forces were detached to fight the campaigns described above, the bulk of Italy's military strength was concentrated in the attack upon Gorizia and the Carso. The actual frontier was not defended by the Austrians, so that the Italians advanced practically unopposed until they approached the line of the Isonzo River and the heights covering the approaches along the western side of the stream. While the higher mountain ridges lie on the east, there are numerous rugged hills on the near (west) side admirably adapted to defense. The communications between Gorizia and Trieste were covered by the extraordinarily difficult region called the Carso Plateau, where a seamed and broken plain is thickly strewn with huge masses of limestone boulders.

By the early part of June, 1915, General Cadorna's men were deployed on a front of about fifty miles from Caporetto to the sea. Monfalcone, just east of the river mouth, was easily taken, (June 9,) and Gradisca, too, was won, but the next three principal objectives were hard to get. At the north a large force, principally of Alpine troops, attacked Tolmino and Monte Nero. Their mission was to cut the railway between Gorizia

and Villach. The centre had the hardest task and attacked Gorizia with its fortified bridgehead west of the Isonzo and the strong covering positions on Podgora Heights. The right attacked Monfalcone, Gradisca, and the Carso.

The Italians found the Austrian defenses far stronger than had been be-



GENERAL VON HOETZENDORF

lieved, although the forces employed to hold them were quite inadequate and might have been overwhelmed by a quick, hard attack in the first days of the campaign. The Austrian artillery positions had been well chosen, the intrenched positions were skillfully constructed and the approaches heavily wired. The Italians, by means of pontoons, crossed the swift running river at dawn on June 17, and in a brilliant bayonet attack carried Plava, where the defending artillery included 12-inch guns. On June 28 General Cadorna's men won another bridgehead at Castelnuovo on the east side of the Isonzo, and a footing was gained on the edge of the Carso Plateau between Monfalcone and Sagrado.

First Battle of Gorizia

In the first week of July the first battle of Gorizia opened, and this costly effort on the part of the Italians to storm

the Austrian stronghold persisted through the next six weeks. Some ground was gained on the Carso—including Sei Busi, San Martino, and San Michele—and on Podgora, while under the eye of King Victor Emmanuel several divisions had finally won a very costly victory at Plava.

The Austrian second line proved even stronger than the first, and no great progress had been made in the direction of Trieste as the result of six weeks of terrific fighting.

The fall of Warsaw had by now enabled the Austrians to bring over to this front reinforcements, which included some of their best units. The difficult terrain was thoroughly understood by the Austrian first-line troops, whose manoeuvres had been held there. The Austrian commander, Field Marshal Baron von Hoetzendorf, had made a special study of the region and wrote a book on its military features. He knew the Isonzo almost as von Hindenburg knew the Masurian Lakes.

After the first great attack on Gorizia ended in the middle of August there was a period of some weeks when the exhausted and much-depleted units were rested and replenished. By early October the Italians were renewing the attacks against the bridgehead at Tolmino and on the Carso. While these efforts made little progress, the Italians seemed always able to repulse such counterattacks as were attempted by the enemy. On Oct. 21 the Italians attacked along the whole Isonzo front and made substantial gains below the summit of Mrzli, a peak dominating Tolmino from the northwest. Other gains were won on the slopes of Monte Sabotino near Gorizia and toward San Martino on the Carso. More than 5,000 Austrian prisoners were taken, and General Cadorna at this time estimated that the Austrians had not less than 800,000 men defending the Isonzo front. The actual figures were probably less than this estimate, but there is reason to believe that General Cadorna had close to a million fighting men trying to break through the almost impregnable Austrian positions, which were unquestionably de-

fended at this time by very large numbers of excellent troops.

In November the Italians made new progress at Oslavia on the west face of the Gorizia position, and in spite of terrific losses wave after wave of fresh infantry continued for weeks the successive assaults upon the fortifications on Podgora and Oslavia covering Gorizia. As the year closed the assaults once more subsided into the normal daily artillery bombardments, but it was evident that the Italians were firmly committed to the task of taking Gorizia and continuing the attacks toward Trieste across the Carso.

Fighting on the Carso

On this plateau the fighting somewhat resembled that in France about the famous Labyrinth, for the intricate and difficult terrain had made it possible for the Austrians to create on the surface a system of defenses almost as intricate as those which the German engineers burrowed under the soil of Artois. Progress was won only by desperate hand-to-hand battles, in which comparatively small detachments fought to the death for every foot of vantage. Occasionally the Austrians launched powerful counterattacks, and in the middle of January, 1916, they took nearly two thousand prisoners at Oslavia in trenches which they stormed but had to yield again a few days later. About this time heavy Italian batteries resumed the long-distance shelling of Malborghetto, on the road toward Garves, but these activities were part of the effort to cripple Austrian lines of communication rather than the prelude to any northern extension of the actual attacks.

Late in 1915 Italy began to move large forces across the Adriatic into Albania, and by February, 1916, an announcement from Rome credited General Giovanni Ameglio with a command numbering 170,000 troops. General Ameglio was the conqueror of Libya and had with him in Albania a division of 22,000 veterans from North Africa. This powerful army eventually checked the southern march of the Austrians and Bulgarians, who threatened to overrun all of Albania after

their successes in the north against the Montenegrins, Serbs, and Albanians at Mount Lovcen, Alessio, San Giovanni di Medua, and Elbassan.

In the early Spring of 1916 there was much hard fighting in front of Gorizia, which subsided during the great Austrian invasion from the Trentino. After Brusiloff's splendid victories in the east had put a stop to that Austrian campaign, the Italians resumed their assaults along the Isonzo.

The Capture of Gorizia

Early in August, after a series of terrific battles, General Cadorna scored the first great Italian victory of the war. Tunnels had been driven close up to the Austrian fortifications, which enabled several columns of infantry to rush positions that had resisted all other assaults for a year. On Aug. 9, after storming the bridgehead, the Italian troops entered the City of Gorizia on the east side of the Isonzo. Between 15,000 and 20,000 Austrian prisoners were taken in the final fighting at Gorizia. The Italian casualties must have been very heavy, but no statement indicating the extent of the losses was issued.

In the year that has elapsed since Gorizia was taken General Cadorna has made only a little progress among the high and difficult mountain positions still stubbornly defended by the Austrians east and southeast of the city. Further south on the Carso the Italians have gradually won more ground, and their lines are now nearly midway of that most forbidding plateau. The road to Trieste is still blocked by a competent and stubborn foe, who knows how to take every advantage of a region singularly adapted to a defensive campaign. Had the Russians been able to maintain a serious campaign on the other side of Austria in the Spring of 1917 it is possible that General Cadorna might have been enabled to push his striking force further toward Trieste, while his detaining forces could be trusted to prevent any resumption of the previous year's Austrian attack aimed at the Venetian plains and the rear of the armies on the Isonzo.

In the Balkans General Ameglio's

army has firmly established Italian control of Southern Albania, with a naval and military base at Avlona. This force links up with General Sarraill's international group of armies near Monastir, and the Italians have undoubtedly made great improvements in the old roadway across Albania from Avlona via Elbassan, which is Ameglio's line of communications.

The British in Mesopotamia

It will be recalled that in the latter part of 1914 a British expedition from India landed at the north end of the Persian Gulf and occupied Basra, the important city close to the junction of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Perhaps the purpose of this force was to block any possible effort which the Germans might have launched via the Tigris Valley against India. Possibly it was a campaign of conquest designed to wrest from German influence the partly completed railway route to Baghdad. If it were only a defensive measure, as it was announced to be in India, every purpose would have been served by maintaining a strong force at Basra, backed up by British naval power.

A fortnight after the fall of Basra the British took Kurna, where an entrenched position was established astride the Tigris. In April the Turks made several abortive efforts against British outposts, and gradually the British forces became involved in operations which extended considerably to the north. Following a routed force of Turks, Esra's tomb was passed, and on June 3, 1915, the British captured Amara, seventy-five miles above Kurna. What was left of the Turkish force under Nur-ed-Din Pasha retreated 150 miles up the Tigris to Kut-el-Amara.

From Kut-el-Amara a river channel cuts away to the south and joins the Euphrates at Nasiriyeh, and as river routes are the only ones practicable for troops in this sunbaked region, the British determined to gain control of this waterway, which links the two great rivers in the interior. Major Gen. G. F. Gorringe led the expedition from Kurna against Nasiriyeh, which, with the help

of a flotilla of gunboats, was captured after a stiff fight on July 25; 2,500 Turks were killed and 700 captured, while the British loss was only 600.

Following this success on the Euphrates, Sir John Nixon dispatched General Townshend's division up the Tigris, and this column found 10,000 Turkish regulars intrenched a few miles below Kut-el-Amara, where, on Sept. 28, in a brilliantly planned action a large part of the Turkish position was captured. By the next day the Turks were in full retreat toward Bagdad, and the British were in Kut-el-Amara. General Townshend embarked a brigade of infantry on river steamers and pushed on up toward Bagdad.

Townshend's Bagdad Expedition

Every mile of this progress toward the north lengthened the line of communications with Basra, but the British Staff doubtless had excellent confidential advices as to the attitude of the Arabs who were passed en route. When the Caliph proclaimed from Constantinople the holy war against the Allies he called upon no other community so solidly Mohammedan as the Arabian Peninsula, yet the event proved that the Arabs of those far regions felt little or no political obligation to the ruler on the Golden Horn.

Below Basra, on the west side of the Persian Gulf, were three vilayets which had either resisted Turkish control or, as in the case of Oman, had always remained independent. West of Basra lies the extensive interior Arab Kingdom of Nejd, which, like far-off Oman, had never been conquered. Between Nejd and the Red Sea lies Hejaz, with both Mecca and Medina within its borders, and consequently the very centre of ultra Mohammedan influence. While in the event of a great disaster to the British expedition most of these tribesmen might be counted upon to attack and plunder broken and retreating columns, it was evident that no strong bonds of sympathy for the far-off Turk moved them to take any very active part in harassing the British advance.

Bagdad, the great city of the Tigris,

was the ancient metropolis of the Eastern world, and still harbored a certain provincial independence of thought, which treasured the history of a past, when the fair city of the Tigris was easily the peer of that later capital which settled on the distant edge of Europe, whence little new glory had come to Islam. Whatever difficulties developed further up the country the British control of the bases at Kurna, Basra, and Nasiriyeh proved amply sufficient to prevent the development of any very serious attacks on the flanks.

From Kut-el-Amara General Townshend pushed on up the Tigris to attack Bagdad, 573 miles from the waters of the Persian Gulf. The British force numbered 15,000, of whom about one-third were white soldiers and the other two-thirds Indian troops. The army was accompanied by a large flotilla of river boats of various types, and the advancing troops went forward both by road and by river.

This campaign beyond Kut-el-Amara was a colossal blunder, and it is idle now to speculate on the reasons for the undertaking. To General Townshend's professional credit it is related that he protested against so large an undertaking with so small a force. The British Indian military administration overruled him, and apparently held the Turkish soldier far too lightly. British political and diplomatic interests in the Autumn of 1915 were certainly in a bad way in Gallipoli, in France, in the Balkans, and in Russia. Undoubtedly there was a disposition to take a gambler's chance and hope by capturing Bagdad to offset the imminent failure at Constantinople.

Reverse at Ctesiphon

There was only light skirmishing most of the way, as the troops, heartened by the change from the murderous heat of the Summer campaign to the clear days and cool nights of October, pushed bravely on up the river. In the last week of October a flank attack dislodged the Turkish rear guard from a prepared position at Azizie, and by Nov. 12 General Townshend's force camped at Lajj, seven miles below Ctesiphon, and on the evening of the 21st he marched three columns

out to attack the elaborately prepared Turkish positions below and above the ruins of Ctesiphon.

The plan was practically a duplicate of that which had succeeded so brilliantly at Kut-el-Amara. While one column made a direct frontal attack, another was to strike the Turkish left flank and hold it fully occupied; meanwhile, the third column, by a wide turning movement, was to gain the rear of the Turkish position and join in rolling the whole Turk force up against the river. After a seven-mile march by bright moonlight, the British arrived opposite the Turkish positions before dawn and began the grand attack before 9 o'clock. By the early afternoon the British had the first-line position won and the Turks fell back to their second and much stronger prepared position. In the afternoon a fresh division joined Nur-ed-Din's forces, and the fortunes of the fight strongly favored the Turks. On the 23d there was an exchange of shellfire until the middle of the afternoon, when the Turks made a number of counterattacks upon the well-intrenched British lines.

By the 24th the British casualties amounted to 4,500, with especially severe losses among the officers. The Turks were receiving further reinforcements, and at midnight on the 25th General Townshend retreated to Lajj, and on Dec. 30 was back in Kut-el-Amara, after a heartbreaking retreat in which rear-guard actions were frequent, and the wearied troops sometimes marched as much as twenty-seven miles in a day. The beaten army barely managed to stagger into Kut, and the Turks instantly closed the approaches and settled down to a long siege.

The Russians in Persia

In November and December, 1915, a Russian force pushed down from the Caucasus and defeated several forces of Persian rebels fighting on behalf of German influence. Teheran was occupied by the Russians and most of the Persian forces were driven back on Kermanshah. This prompt action on the part of Russia defeated an elaborate German plan to commit Persia to the Teuton cause.

In the following year military operations in Persia assumed for a time a really threatening appearance, and a somewhat important campaign was required to drive well-organized forces from several of the larger mountain towns in Western Persia. Wide interest



GENERAL TOWNSHEND

was at one time aroused by an announcement that a small force of Russian cavalry had unexpectedly joined the British on the Tigris, and there was a possibility that this might have been the independent cavalry of an army advancing from Persia to join the British campaign for the relief of Kut-el-Amara. In the end no such army appeared, and the real story of that strange adventure of the Russian horsemen has never yet been told.

Townshend's Force Besieged

The remnant of General Townshend's army just managed by almost superhuman efforts to struggle through the last terrible days of the retreat into Kut. That they were able still to preserve a morale that enabled them to hold that place against a victorious enemy greatly

superior in numbers reflected the greatest glory on the British service. The failure of the campaign had resulted in a damaging blow to British prestige, but the heroic qualities of the troops engaged proved that there was nothing the matter with the courage of the British soldier. Muddled plans might waste British blood and treasure on the Tigris as well as on the Dardanelles, but nothing could break down the indomitable fighting quality of the army. Thoroughly censored press dispatches covered up for many weeks the extent of the disaster at Ctesiphon by assertions that after a great victory General Townshend's force had been compelled temporarily to fall back for lack of water. It was December before England realized that there was a besieged remnant of a heroic army at Kut-el-Amara which would need prompt succor.

On Christmas Day, 1915, after a heavy bombardment for many hours, the Turks fought their way into one of the forts on the right flank. They were expelled, but returned and again occupied the position, from which they were finally driven back to their own trenches after a severe battle.

By the middle of January, 1916, a strong relief force was advancing well up the Tigris under the command of General Aylmer, but this expedition found a detached Turkish army on its front blocking the road toward Kut. From Sheik Saad onward General Aylmer's army was engaged in a number of severe actions, and these prevented the prompt relief which it was expected to afford to the besieged force up the river. The British lost heavily in battles at Sheik Saad and at Essin, and were compelled to intrench at a point twenty-three miles below Kut against a foe too strong to be brushed aside or pierced. At Men-larie the Turks had the advantage in another hot fight, and at Felahie a British reconnoitring party were all killed; 150 miles down stream, at Kurna, irregular Turkish forces defeated

a British transport column, and in February there was another severe defeat near Batilia, with many casualties and the loss of a great number of transport animals.

At this time Turkish airmen were frequently bombing the British batteries at Kut. Large reinforcements of British and Indian regiments began to reach General Aylmer's army in February and March, and along the Euphrates the British were strong enough to take the offensive against the Turks above Nasiriyeh. In a fight on the upper Tigris, near Felahie, General Aylmer's men entered the Turkish trenches, but were driven out in a counterattack with a loss of 2,000 dead. The British retreated, and in a rear guard action at Zenzir Heights had 5 officers and 175 men captured.

In April General Lake scored the first British victory in a long time by winning a battle at Umm-el-Henna, about twenty miles below Kut. At Bestissa and Felahie the Turks defeated desperate British efforts to cut a way through with the bayonet, and news from General Townshend's besieged force in Kut told of a serious shortage of food.

On April 29, 1916, General Townshend's troops could hold out no longer; and, although the army advancing to their relief was less than twenty-five miles away, it was apparent that the Turks would be able to delay any further advance for a long time. The entire force surrendered unconditionally after a brave defense of 143 days. The Turks claimed to have captured 13,000 men, while the British figures named 2,970 British and 6,000 Indian troops. General Townshend surrendered to Halil Pasha and the loot was said to include £1,000,000 in cash.

The planning of the successful Turkish campaign in Mesopotamia was credited to the great German Field Marshal von der Goltz, who died April 19, 1916, at Turkish Headquarters. Rumor at the time said he was assassinated by a Turkish Anatolian officer.

How the War Came to America

Official Survey of the Causes That Led the United States to Enter the Great Conflict

The Committee on Public Information, composed of the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy, with George Creel as civilian Chairman, issued on June 24, 1917, a pamphlet entitled "How the War Came to America," setting forth at length the events that had forced the United States to enter the war in defense of the Monroe Doctrine, freedom of the seas, and arbitration. Following is the full text of that important and interesting document:

IN the years when this Republic was still struggling for existence, in the face of threatened encroachments by hostile monarchies over the sea, in order to make the New World safe for democracy our forefathers established here the policy that soon came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. Warning the Old World not to interfere in the political life of the New, our Government pledged itself in return to abstain from interference in the political conflicts of Europe; and history has vindicated the wisdom of this course. We were then too weak to influence the destinies of Europe, and it was vital to mankind that this first great experiment in government of and by the people should not be disturbed by foreign attack.

Reinforced by the experience of our expanding national life, this doctrine has been ever since the dominating element in the growth of our foreign policy. Whether or not we could have maintained it in case of concerted attack from abroad, it has seemed of such importance to us that we were at all times ready to go to war in its defense. And though since it was first enunciated our strength has grown by leaps and bounds, although in that time the vast increase in our foreign trade and of travel abroad, modern transport, modern mails, the cables, and the wireless have brought us close to Eu-

rope and have made our isolation more and more imaginary, there has been until the outbreak of the present conflict small desire on our part to abrogate, or even amend, the old familiar tradition which has for so long given us peace.

Policy at The Hague

In both conferences at The Hague, in 1899 and 1907, we reaffirmed this policy. As our delegates signed the First Convention in regard to arbitration, they read into the minutes this statement:

Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

At The Hague we pledged ourselves, in case we ever went to war, to observe certain broad general rules of decency and fair fighting. But at the same time we cleared ourselves from any responsibility for forcing other nations to observe similar pledges. And in 1906, when our delegates took part in the Algeiras Conference, which was to regulate the affairs of the distracted Kingdom of Morocco, they followed the same formula there. While acquiescing in the new régime which guaranteed the independence and integrity of Morocco, we explicitly announced that we assumed no police responsibility for the enforcement of the treaty. And if any honest doubt was left as to our attitude in regard to the enforcement of Old World agreements, it was dispelled five years later, when our Government refused to protest against the overthrow of the Acte d'Algeiras.

We declined to be drawn into quarrels abroad which might endanger in any way our traditional policy.

For Freedom of the Seas

Our second great tradition in international relations has been our persistent effort to secure a stable and equitable agreement of the nations upon such a maritime code as would assure to all the world a just freedom of the seas.

This effort was born of our vital need. For although it was possible for the Republic to keep aloof from the nineteenth century disputes that rent the Continent of Europe, we could not be indifferent to the way in which war was conducted at sea. In those early years of our national life, when we were still but a few communities ranged along the Atlantic coast, we were a seafaring people. At a time when our frontiersmen had not yet reached the Mississippi, the fame of our daring clipper ships had spread to all the Seven Seas. So while we could watch the triumphant march and the tragic counter-march of Napoleon's grand army with detached indifference, his Continental blockade and the British Orders in Council at once affected the lives of our citizens intimately and disastrously.

So it was in the case of the Barbary pirates. We had no interest in the land quarrels and civil wars of the Barbary States, but we fought them for obstructing the freedom of the seas.

And in the decades ever since, although the imagination of our people has been engrossed in the immense labor of winning the West, our Department of State has never lost sight of the compelling interest that we have upon the seas, and has constantly striven to gain the assent of all nations to a maritime code which should be framed and enforced by a joint responsibility. Various watchwords have arisen in this long controversy. We have urged the inviolability of private property at sea, we have asked for a liberal free list and a narrow definition of contraband; but our main insistence has not been on any such details. One salient idea has guided our diplomacy. The law of the sea must be founded not on might, but on right and a common accord—upon a code binding all alike, which cannot be changed

or set aside by the will of any one nation. Our ideal has been not a weakening but a strengthening of legal restraint by the free will and agreement of all. We have asked nothing for ourselves that we do not ask for the whole world. The seas will never be free, in our American meaning, until all who sail thereon have had a voice in framing sea laws. The just governance of the seas must rest on the consent of the governed.

The Declaration of London

No other question of international polity has found the great powers more divided. But in our insistence on this fundamental principle, we have been strengthened by the support of many other countries. At times we have had the support of Great Britain. No one of our Secretaries of State has more clearly defined our ideal than has Viscount Grey, recently British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. None of our statesmen has ever gone so far as he in advocating limitation of the rights of belligerents on the sea. It was on his initiative that the international naval conference was summoned to London in 1909, and it was under his guidance that the eminent international lawyers and diplomats and Admirals who gathered there drew up the Declaration of London.

While there were in that declaration sections that did not quite meet our approval and that we should have liked to amend, the document was from our point of view a tremendous step in advance. For although, like any effort to concisely formulate the broad principles of equity, it did not wholly succeed in its purpose, it was at least an honest attempt to arrive at an agreement on a complete international code of sea law, based upon mutual consent and not to be altered by any belligerent in the heat of the conflict.

But the Declaration of London was not ratified by the British Parliament, for the point of view prevailing then in England was that a power dependent almost wholly upon its navy for protection could not safely accept further limitations upon action at sea unless there were compensating limitations on land powers. And this latter concession Ger-

many consistently refused to make. This conference therefore came to nought; and, the London Declaration having been rejected by the strongest maritime power, its indorsement was postponed by all the other countries involved. Our motives, however, remained unchanged, and our Government persisted in its purpose to secure a general ratification either of this Declaration or of some similar maritime code.

Principle of Arbitration

There has been in our diplomacy one more outstanding aspiration. We have constantly sought to substitute judicial for military settlement of disputes between nations.

The genesis of this idea dates from the discussions over the Federal organizations of our thirteen original States, which were almost as jealous of their sovereignties as are the nations of Europe today. The first great step toward the League of Honor, which we hope will at last bring peace to the world, was taken when our thirteen States agreed to disarm and submit all their disputes to the high tribunal of the new federation.

And this idea of an interstate court, which except at the time of our civil war has given this nation internal peace, has profoundly influenced our foreign policy. Of our efforts to bring others to our way of thinking, a historical résumé was presented by our delegates at the First Hague Conference. A project was submitted there for the formation of a world court. And a few years later Mr. Root, our Secretary of State, in instructing our delegates to the Second Conference at The Hague, laid especial emphasis on this same international ideal.

We have taken a particular pride in being in the vanguard of this movement for the peaceable settlement by process of law of all disputes between nations. And these efforts have not been without success. For, although the last few decades have seen this principle time and again put under a terrific strain, no nation has dared to go to war against the award of a court of arbitration. The stupendous possibilities that lie in ar-

bitration for solving international problems, promoting liberal principles, and safeguarding human life had been amply demonstrated before the present war began.

But in the discussions at The Hague, largely through the resistance of the German Empire and its satellites, the efforts of our delegates and those of other Governments to bring about a general treaty of compulsory arbitration had failed; and therefore this nation, having been thwarted in its attempts to secure a general agreement, began negotiations with all those nations which, like our own, preferred the methods of law and peace, with the purpose of effecting dual arbitration treaties. And before the end of 1914 we had signed far-reaching treaties with thirty nations, twenty of which had been duly ratified and proclaimed. But in this work, too, we were made to feel the same opposition as at The Hague; for, while Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy cordially welcomed our overtures, the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires were noticeably absent from the list of those nations who desired, by specific agreements in advance, to minimize the danger of war.

Three Cardinal Doctrines

On the eve of the present conflict our position toward other nations might have been summarized under three heads:

I. The Monroe Doctrine.—We had pledged ourselves to defend the New World from European aggression, and we had by word and deed made it clear that we would not intervene in any European dispute.

II. The Freedom of the Seas.—In every naval conference our influence had been given in support of the principle that sea law to be just and worthy of general respect must be based on the consent of the governed.

III. Arbitration.—As we had secured peace at home by referring interstate disputes to a Federal tribunal, we urged a similar settlement of international controversies. Our ideal was a permanent world court. We had already signed ar-

bitration treaties not only with great powers which might conceivably attack us, but even more freely with weaker neighbors in order to show our good faith in recognizing the equality of all nations both great and small. We had made plain to the nations our purpose to forestall by every means in our power the recurrence of wars in the world.

The outbreak of war in 1914 caught this nation by surprise. The peoples of Europe had had at least some warnings of the coming storm, but to us such a blind, savage onslaught on the ideals of civilization had appeared impossible.

The war was incomprehensible. Either side was championed here by millions living among us who were of European birth. Their contradictory accusations threw our thought into disarray, and in the first chaotic days we could see no clear issue that affected our national policy. There was no direct assault on our rights. It seemed at first to most of us a purely European dispute, and our minds were not prepared to take sides in such a conflict. The President's proclamation of neutrality was received by us as natural and inevitable. It was quickly followed by his appeal to "the citizens of the Republic."

"Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality," he said, "which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. * * * It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it." He expressed the fear that our nation might become divided in camps of hostile opinion. "Such divisions among us * * * might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend."

This purpose—the preservation of a strict neutrality in order that later we might be of use in the great task of mediation—dominated all the President's early speeches.

"We are the mediating nation of the

world," he declared in an address on April 20, 1915. "We are compounded of the nations of the world; we mediate their blood, we mediate their traditions, we mediate their sentiments, their tastes, their passions; we are ourselves compounded of those things. We are, therefore, able to understand them in the compound, not separately as partisans, but unitedly as knowing and comprehending and embodying them all. It is in that sense that I mean that America is a mediating nation."

American neutrality, in those first months of the great war, was beyond any question real.

Stirred by Events in Belgium

But the spirit of neutrality was not easy to maintain. Public opinion was deeply stirred by the German invasion of Belgium and by reports of atrocities there. The Royal Belgian Commission, which came in September, 1914, to lay their country's cause for complaint before our National Government, was received with sympathy and respect. The President in his reply reserved our decision in the affair. It was the only course he could take without an abrupt departure from our most treasured traditions of non-interference in Old World disputes. But the sympathy of America went out to the Belgians in the heroic tragedy, and from every section of our land money contributions and supplies of food and clothing poured over to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which was under the able management of our fellow-countrymen abroad.

Still, the thought of taking an active part in this European war was very far from most of our minds. The nation shared with the President the belief that by maintaining a strict neutrality we could best serve Europe at the end as impartial mediators.

But in the very first days of the war our Government foresaw that complications on the seas might put us in grave risk of being drawn into the conflict. No neutral nation could foretell what violations of its vital interests at sea might be attempted by the belligerents. And so, on Aug. 6, 1914, our Secretary of State dispatched an iden-

tical note to all the powers then at war, calling attention to the risk of serious trouble arising out of this uncertainty of neutrals as to their maritime rights, and proposing that the Declaration of London be accepted by all nations for the duration of the war.

Controversies With Great Britain

But the British Government's response, while expressing sympathy with the purpose of our suggestion and declaring their "keen desire to consult so far as possible the interests of neutral countries," announced their decision "to adopt generally the rules of the Declaration in question, subject to certain modifications and additions which they judge indispensable to the efficient conduct of their naval operations." The Declaration had not been indorsed by any power in time of peace, and there was no legal obligation on Great Britain to accept it. Her reply, however, was disappointing, for it did nothing to clarify the situation. Great Britain recognized as binding certain long-accepted principles of international law and sought now to apply them to the peculiar and unforeseen conditions of this war. But these principles were often vague and therefore full of dangerous possibilities of friction.

Controversies soon arose between Great Britain and this nation. In practice their ruling sometimes seemed to our Government inconsistent with the spirit of international law, and especially with the established precedents which they invoked. But, painful as this divergence of opinion sometimes was, it did not seriously threaten our position of neutrality, for the issues that arose involved only rights of property and were amply covered by the arbitration treaty signed only a short time before by Great Britain and the United States.

And this controversy led to a clearer understanding on our part of the British attitude toward our ideal of the freedom of the seas. They were not willing to accept our classification of the seas as being distinct from the Old World. We had confined our interest to matters affecting rights at sea and had kept carefully aloof from issues affecting the

interests of European nations on land. The British were interested in both. They explained that they had participated in the London naval conference in the hope that it would lead to a sound and liberal entente in the interest of the rights of all nations on the sea and on the land as well, and that they had refused to ratify the London Declaration because no compensating accord on the Continent had resulted. They could not afford to decrease the striking power of their navy unless their powerful neighbors on land agreed to decrease their armies.

America's Changed Attitude

That this attitude of England deeply impressed our Government is shown by the increasing attention given by the United States to the search for ways and means of insuring at the end of the war a lasting peace for all the world. The address of our President, on May 27, 1916, before the League to Enforce Peace was a milestone in our history.

He outlined the main principles on which a stable peace must rest, principles plainly indicating that this nation would have to give up its position of isolation and assume the responsibilities of a world power. The President said:

So sincerely do we believe these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

It was a new and significant note in our foreign policy. But the mind of America had learned much in the long, bitter months of war. Future historians will make charts of this remarkable evolution in our public opinion: the gradual abandonment of the illusion of isolation; the slow growth of a realization that we could not win freedom on sea—for us a vital interest—unless we consented to do our share in maintaining freedom on land as well, and that we could not have peace in the world—the peace we loved and needed for the perfection of our democracy—unless we were willing and prepared to help to restrain any nation that willfully endangered the peace of the whole world family.

Had this address of the President come before the war there would have arisen a storm of protest from all sections of the land. But in May, 1916, the nation's response was emphatic approval.

No Treaty with Germany

In the meantime, although our neutral rights were not brought into question by Germany as early as by England, the German controversy was infinitely more serious.

For any dissension that might arise no arbitration treaty existed between the United States and the German Government. This was from no fault of ours. We had tried to establish with Germany the same treaty relations we had with Great Britain and nineteen other nations. But these overtures had been rejected. And this action on the part of the Imperial German Government was only one example of its whole system of diplomacy. In both conferences at The Hague it had been the German delegates who were the most active in blocking all projects for the pacific settlement of disputes between nations.

They had preferred to limit international relations to the old modes of diplomacy and war. It was therefore obvious from the first that any controversy with the German Government would be exceedingly serious; for if it could not be solved by direct diplomatic conversations, there was no recourse except to war.

From such conversations there is small hope of satisfactory results unless the good faith of both sides is profound. If either side lacks good faith, or reveals in all its actions an insidious hostility, diplomacy is of no avail. And so it has proved in the present case.

In the first year of the war the Government of Germany stirred up among its people a feeling of resentment against the United States on account of our insistence upon our right as a neutral nation to trade in munitions with the belligerent powers. Our legal right in the matter was not seriously questioned by Germany. She could not have done so consistently, for as recently as the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 both Germany and

Austria sold munitions to the belligerents. Their appeals to us in the present war were not to observe international law, but to revise it in their interest. And these appeals they tried to make on moral and humanitarian grounds. But upon "the moral issue" involved, the stand taken by the United States was consistent with its traditional policy and with obvious common sense.

Our Defense at Stake

For, if, with all other neutrals, we refused to sell munitions to belligerents, we could never in time of a war of our own obtain munitions from neutrals, and the nation which had accumulated the largest reserves of war supplies in time of peace would be assured of victory.

The militarist State that invested its money in arsenals would be at a fatal advantage over the free people who invested their wealth in schools. To write into international law that neutrals should not trade in munitions would be to hand over the world to the rule of the nation with the largest armament factories. Such a policy the United States of America could not accept.

But our principal controversy with the German Government, and the one which rendered the situation at once acute, rose out of their announcement of a sea zone where their submarines would operate in violation of all accepted principles of international law. Our indignation at such a threat was soon rendered passionate by the sinking of the *Lusitania*. This attack upon our rights was not only grossly illegal; it defied the fundamental concepts of humanity.

Aggravating restraints on our trade were grievances which could be settled by litigation after the war, but the wanton murder of peaceable men and of innocent women and children, citizens of a nation with which Germany was at peace, was a crime against the civilized world which could never be settled in any court.

Our Government, however, inspired still by a desire to preserve peace if possible, used every resource of diplomacy to force the German Government to abandon such attacks. This diplo-

matic correspondence, which has already been published, proves beyond doubt that our Government sought by every honorable means to preserve faith in that mutual sincerity between nations which is the only basis of sound diplomatic interchange.

But evidence of the bad faith of the Imperial German Government soon piled up on every hand. Honest efforts on our part to establish a firm basis of good neighborliness with the German people were met by their Government with quibbles, misrepresentations, and counteraccusations against their enemies abroad.

Work of Hostile Spies

And meanwhile in this country official agents of the Central Powers—protected from criminal prosecution by diplomatic immunity—conspired against our internal peace and placed spies and agents provocateurs throughout the length and breadth of our land, and even in high positions of trust in departments of our Government.

While expressing a cordial friendship for the people of the United States, the Government of Germany had its agents at work both in Latin America and Japan. They bought or subsidized papers and supported speakers there to rouse feelings of bitterness and distrust against us in those friendly nations, in order to embroil us in war. They were inciting to insurrection in Cuba, in Haiti, and in Santo Domingo; their hostile hand was stretched out to take the Danish Islands; and everywhere in South America they were abroad sowing the seeds of dissension, trying to stir up one nation against another and all against the United States.

In their sum these various operations amounted to direct assault upon the Monroe Doctrine. And even if we had given up our right to travel on the sea, even if we had surrendered to German threats and abandoned our legitimate trade in munitions, the German offensive in the New World, in our own land and among our neighbors, was becoming too serious to be ignored.

So long as it was possible, the Government of the United States tried to be-

lieve that such activities, the evidence of which was already in a large measure at hand, were the work of irresponsible and misguided individuals. It was only reluctantly, in the face of overwhelming proof, that the recall of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador and of the German Military and Naval Attachés was demanded.

Proof of their criminal violations of our hospitality was presented to their Governments. But these Governments in reply offered no apologies nor did they issue reprimands. It became clear that such intrigue was their settled policy.

In the meantime the attacks of the German submarines upon the lives and property of American citizens had gone on; the protests of our Government were now sharp and ominous, and this nation was rapidly being drawn into a state of war.

Warnings Given by President

As the President said in Topeka, on Feb. 2, 1916:

We are not going to invade any nation's right. But suppose, my fellow-countrymen, some nation should invade our rights. What then? * * * I have come here to tell you that the difficulties of our foreign policy * * * daily increase in number and intricacy and in danger; and I would be derelict to my duty to you if I did not deal with you in these matters with the utmost candor, and tell you what it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to do.

The next day, at St. Louis, he repeated his warning:

The danger is not from within, gentlemen, it is from without; and I am bound to tell you that that danger is constant and immediate—not because anything new has happened, not because there has been any change in our international relationships within recent weeks or months, but because the danger comes with every turn of events.

The break would have come sooner if our Government had not been restrained by the hope that saner counsels might still prevail in Germany. For it was well known to us that the German people had to a very large extent been kept in ignorance of many of the secret crimes of their Government against us.

And the presence of a faction of German public opinion less hostile to this

country was shown when their Government acquiesced to some degree in our demands at the time of the Sussex outrage, and for nearly a year maintained at least a pretense of observing the pledge they had made to us. The tension was abated.

While the war spirit was growing in some sections of our nation, there was still no widespread desire to take part in the conflict abroad; for the tradition of non-interference in Europe's political affairs was too deeply rooted in our national life to be easily overthrown.

Moreover, two other considerations strengthened our Government in its efforts to remain neutral in this war. The first was our traditional sense of responsibility toward all the republics of the New World. Throughout the crisis our Government was in constant communication with the countries of Central and South America.

They, too, preferred the ways of peace. And there was a very obvious obligation upon us to safeguard their interests with our own.

The second consideration, which had been so often developed in the President's speeches, was the hope that by keeping aloof from the bitter passions abroad, by preserving untroubled here the holy ideals of civilized intercourse between nations, we might be free at the end of this war to bind up the wounds of the conflict, to be the restorers and rebuilders of the wrecked structure of the world.

Neutrality Becomes Unsafe

All these motives held us back, but it was not long until we were beset by further complications. We soon had reason to believe that the recent compliance of the German Government had not been made to us in good faith, and was only temporary, and by the end of 1916 it was plain that our neutral status had again been made unsafe through the ever-increasing aggressiveness of the German autocracy. There was a general agreement here with the statement of our President on Oct. 26, 1916, that this conflict was the last great war involving the world in which we would remain neutral.

It was in this frame of mind, fearing we might be drawn into the war if it did

not soon come to an end, that the President began the preparation of his note, asking the belligerent powers to define their war aims. But before he had completed it the world was surprised by the peace move of the German Government—an identical note on behalf of the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, sent through neutral powers on Dec. 12, 1916, to the Governments of the Allies, proposing negotiations for peace.

While expressing the wish to end this war—"a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity"—the greater portion of the note was couched in terms that gave small hope of a lasting peace.

Boasting of German conquests, "the glorious deeds of our armies," the note implanted in neutral minds the belief that it was the purpose of the Imperial German Government to insist upon such conditions as would leave all Central Europe under German dominance and so build up an empire which would menace the whole liberal world.

Moreover, the German proposal was accompanied by a thinly veiled threat to all neutral nations; and from a thousand sources, official and unofficial, the word came to Washington that unless the neutrals used their influence to bring the war to an end on terms dictated from Berlin, Germany and her allies would consider themselves henceforth free from any obligations to respect the rights of neutrals.

The Kaiser ordered the neutrals to exert pressure on the Entente to bring the war to an abrupt end, or to beware of the consequences. Clear warnings were brought to our Government that if the German peace move should not be successful, the submarines would be unleashed for a more intense and ruthless war upon all commerce.

On the 18th of December the President dispatched his note to all the belligerent powers, asking them to define their war aims. There was still hope in our minds that the mutual suspicions between the warring powers might be decreased, and

the menace of future German aggression and dominance be removed, by finding a guaranty of good faith in a league of nations.

There was a chance that by the creation of such a league as part of the peace negotiations the war could now be brought to an end before our nation was involved. Two statements issued to the press by our Secretary of State, upon the day the note was dispatched, threw a clear light on the seriousness with which our Government viewed the crisis.

German Reply Evasive

From this point, events moved rapidly. The powers of the Entente replied to the German peace note. Neutral nations took action on the note of the President, and from both belligerents replies to this note were soon in our hands.

The German reply was evasive—in accord with their traditional preference for diplomacy behind closed doors. Refusing to state to the world their terms, Germany and her allies merely proposed a conference. They adjourned all discussion of any plan for a league of peace until after hostilities should end.

The response of the Entente Powers was frank and in harmony with our principal purpose. Many questions raised in the statement of their aims were so purely European in character as to have small interest for us; but our great concern in Europe was the lasting restoration of peace, and it was clear that this was also their chief interest of the Entente nations.

As to the wisdom of some of the measures they proposed toward this end, we might differ in opinion, but the trend of their proposals was the establishment of just frontiers based on the rights of all nations, the small as well as the great, to decide their own destinies.

The aims of the belligerents were now becoming clear. From the outbreak of hostilities the German Government had claimed that it was fighting a war of defense. But the tone of its recent proposals had been that of a conqueror. It sought a peace based on victory.

The Central Empires aspired to extend their domination over other races. They were willing to make liberal terms to any one of their enemies, in a separate

peace which would free their hands to crush other opponents. But they were not willing to accept any peace which did not, all fronts considered, leave them victors and the dominating imperial power of Europe.

The war aims of the Entente showed a determination to thwart this ambition of the Imperial German Government. Against the German peace to further German growth and aggression the Entente Powers offered a plan for a European peace that should make the whole Continent secure.

Blow at German Domination

At this juncture the President read his address to the Senate, on Jan. 22, 1917, in which he outlined the kind of peace the United States of America could join in guaranteeing. His words were addressed not only to the Senate and this nation, but to people of all countries:

May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

The address was a rebuke to those who still cherished dreams of a world dominated by one nation. For the peace he outlined was not that of a victorious Emperor, it was not the peace of Caesar. It was in behalf of all the world, and it was a peace of the people:

No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them

in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are convinced disciples of liberty, and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

And the paths of the sea must, alike in law and in fact, be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality, and co-operation.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armament and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. * * * There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.

Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The Issue Becomes Clearer

If there were any doubt in our minds as to which of the great alliances was the more in sympathy with these ideals, it was removed by the popular response abroad to this address of the President. For, while exception was taken to some parts of it in Britain and France, it was plain that so far as the peoples of the Entente were concerned the President had been amply justified in stating that he spoke for all forward-looking, liberal-minded men and women. It was not so in Germany. The people there who could be reached, and whose hearts were stirred by this enunciation of the principles of a people's peace, were too few or too oppressed to make their voices heard in the councils of their nation. Already, on Jan.

16, 1917, unknown to the people of Germany, Herr Zimmermann, their Secretary of Foreign Affairs, had secretly dispatched a note to their Minister in Mexico, informing him of the German intention to repudiate the Sussex pledge and instructing him to offer to the Mexican Government New Mexico and Arizona if Mexico would join with Japan in attacking the United States.

In the new year of 1917, as through our acceptance of world responsibilities so plainly indicated in the President's utterances in regard to a league of nations we felt ourselves now drawing nearer to a full accord with the Powers of the Entente; and, as on the other hand, we found ourselves more and more outraged at the German Government's methods of conducting warfare and their brutal treatment of people in their conquered lands; as we more and more uncovered their hostile intrigues against the peace of the New World; and, above all, as the sinister and anti-democratic ideals of their ruling class became manifest in their manoeuvres for a peace of conquest—the Imperial German Government abruptly threw aside the mask.

Unlimited Submarine Warfare

On the last day of January, 1917, Count Bernstorff handed to Mr. Lansing a note, in which his Government announced its purpose to intensify and render more ruthless the operations of their submarines at sea, in a manner against which our Government had protested from the beginning. The German Chancellor also stated before the Imperial Diet that the reason this ruthless policy had not been earlier employed was simply because the Imperial Government had not then been ready to act. In brief, under the guise of friendship and the cloak of false promises, it had been preparing this attack.

This was the direct challenge. There was no possible answer except to hand their Ambassador his passports and so have done with a diplomatic correspondence which had been vitiated from the start by the often proved bad faith of the Imperial Government.

On the same day, Feb. 3, 1917, the

President addressed both houses of our Congress and announced the complete severance of our relations with Germany. The reluctance with which he took this step was evident in every word. But diplomacy had failed, and it would have been the hollowest pretense to maintain relations. At the same time, however, he made it plain that he did not regard this act as tantamount to a declaration of war. Here for the first time the President made his sharp distinction between government and people in undemocratic lands:

"We are the sincere friends of the German people," he said, "and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. * * * God grant we may not be challenged by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany."

In this address of the President, and in its indorsement by the Senate, there was a solemn warning; for we still had hope that the German Government might hesitate to drive us to war. But it was soon evident that our warning had fallen on deaf ears. The tortuous ways and means of German official diplomacy were clearly shown in the negotiations opened by them through the Swiss Legation on the 10th of February. In no word of their proposals did the German Government meet the real issue between us. And our State Department replied that no minor negotiations could be entertained until the main issue had been met by the withdrawal of the submarine order.

The Armed Neutrality Phase

By the 1st of March it had become plain that the Imperial Government, unrestrained by the warning in the President's address to Congress on Feb. 3, was determined to make good its threat. The President then again appeared before Congress to report the development of the crisis and to ask the approval of the representatives of the nation for the course of armed neutrality upon which, under his constitutional authority, he had now determined. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two houses of Congress showed themselves ready and anx-

ious to act; and the armed neutrality declaration would have been accepted if it had not been for the legal death of the Sixty-fourth Congress on March 4.

No "overt" act, however, was ordered by our Government until Count Bernstorff had reached Berlin and Mr. Gerard was in Washington. For the German Ambassador on his departure had begged that no irrevocable decision should be taken until he had had the chance to make one final plea for peace to his sovereign. We do not know the nature of his report to the Kaiser; we know only that, even if he kept his pledge and urged an eleventh-hour revocation of the submarine order, he was unable to sway the policy of the Imperial Government.

And so, having exhausted every resource of patience, our Government on the 12th of March finally issued orders to place armed guards on our merchant ships.

American Aloofness Ended

With the definite break in diplomatic relations there vanished the last vestige of cordiality toward the Government of Germany. Our attitude was now to change. So long as we had maintained a strict neutrality in the war, for the reason that circumstances might arise in which Europe would have need of an impartial mediator, for us to have given official heed to the accusations of either party would have been to prejudice the case before all the evidence was in.

But now at last, with the breaking of friendly relations with the German Government, we were relieved of the oppressive duty of endeavoring to maintain a judicial detachment from the rights and wrongs involved in the war. We were no longer the outside observers striving to hold an even balance of judgment between disputants. One party by direct attack upon our rights and liberties was forcing us into the conflict. And, much as we had hoped to keep out of the fray, it was no little relief to be free at last from that reserve which is expected of a judge.

Much evidence had been presented to us of things so abhorrent to our ideas of

humanity that they had seemed incredible, things we had been loath to believe, and with heavy hearts we had sought to reserve our judgment. But with the breaking of relations with the Government of Germany that duty at last was ended. The perfidy of that Government in its dealings with this nation relieved us of the necessity of striving to give them the benefit of the doubt in regard to their crimes abroad. The Government which under cover of profuse professions of friendship had tried to embroil us in war with Mexico and Japan could not expect us to believe in its good faith in other matters. The men whose paid agents dynamited our factories here were capable of the infamies reported against them over the sea. Their Government's protestations, that their purpose was self-defense and the freeing of small nations, fell like a house of cards before the revelation of their "peace terms."

And judging the German Government now in the light of our own experience through the long and patient years of our honest attempt to keep the peace, we could see the great autocracy and read her record through the war. And we found that record damnable. Beginning long before the war in Prussian opposition to every effort that was made by other nations and our own to do away with warfare, the story of the autocracy has been one of vast preparations for war combined with an attitude of arrogant intolerance toward all other points of view, all other systems of governments, all other hopes and dreams of men.

Germany's Criminal Record

With a fanatical faith in the destiny of German Kultur as the system that must rule the world, the Imperial Government's actions have through years of boasting, double dealing, and deceit tended toward aggression upon the rights of others. And, if there still be any doubt as to which nation began this war, there can be no uncertainty as to which one was most prepared, most exultant at the chance, and ready instantly to march upon other nations—even those who had given no offense.

The wholesale depredations and hideous

atrocities in Belgium and in Serbia were doubtless part and parcel with the Imperial Government's purpose to terrorize small nations into abject submission for generations to come. But in this the autocracy has been blind. For its record in those countries, and in Poland and in Northern France, has given not only to the Allies but to liberal peoples throughout the world the conviction that this menace to human liberties everywhere must be utterly shorn of its power for harm.

For the evil it has effected has ranged far out of Europe—out upon the open seas, where its submarines in defiance of law and the concepts of humanity have blown up neutral vessels and covered the waves with the dead and the dying, men and women and children alike. Its agents have conspired against the peace of neutral nations everywhere, sowing the seeds of dissension, ceaselessly endeavoring by tortuous methods of deceit, of bribery, false promises, and intimidation to stir up brother nations one against the other, in order that the liberal world might not be able to unite, in order that the autocracy might emerge triumphant from the war.

All this we know from our own experience with the Imperial Government. As they have dealt with Europe, so they have dealt with us and with all mankind. And so out of these years the conviction has grown that until the German Nation is divested of such rulers democracy cannot be safe.

Russia Removes the Last Doubt

There remained but one element to confuse the issue. One other great autocracy, the Government of the Russian Czar, had long been hostile to free institutions; it had been a stronghold of tyrannies reaching far back into the past, and its presence among the Allies had seemed to be in disaccord with the great liberal principles they were upholding in this war. Russia had been a source of doubt. Repeatedly during the conflict liberal Europe had been startled by the news of secret accord between the Kaiser and the Czar.

But now at this crucial time for our

nation, on the eve of our entrance into the war, the free men of all the world were thrilled and heartened by the news that the people of Russia had risen to throw off their Government and found a new democracy; and the torch of freedom in Russia lit up the last dark phases of the situation abroad. Here, indeed, was a fit partner for the League of Honor. The conviction was finally crystallized in American minds and hearts that this war across the sea was no mere conflict between dynasties, but a stupendous civil war of all the world; a new campaign in the age-old war, the prize of which is liberty. Here, at last, was a struggle in which all who love freedom have a stake. Further neutrality on our part would have been a crime against our ancestors, who had given their lives that we might be free.

"The world must be made safe for democracy."

State of War Declared

On the 2d of April, 1917, the President read to the new Congress his message, in which he asked the Representatives of the nation to declare the existence of a state of war, and in the early hours of

the 6th of April the House by an overwhelming vote accepted the joint resolution which had already passed the Senate:

Whereas, The Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on the war against the Imperial German Government, and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Neutrality was a thing of the past. The time had come when the President's proud prophecy was fulfilled:

There will come that day when the world will say, "This America that we thought was full of a multitude of contrary counsels now speaks with the great volume of the heart's accord, and that great heart of America has behind it the supreme moral force of righteousness and hope and the liberty of mankind."

To the United States of America

By ROBERT BRIDGES

British Poet Laureate

Brothers in blood! They who this wrong began
To wreck our commonwealth, will rue the day
When first they challenged freemen to the fray,
And with the Briton dared the American.
Now are we pledged to win the Rights of man;
Labor and Justice now shall have their way,
And in a League of Peace—God grant we may—
Transform the earth, not patch up the old plan.

Sure is our hope since he who led your nation
Spoke for mankind, and ye arose in awe
Of that high call to work the world's salvation;
Clearing your minds of all estranging blindness
In the vision of Beauty and the Spirit's law,
Freedom and Honor and sweet Loving kindness.

April 30, 1917.

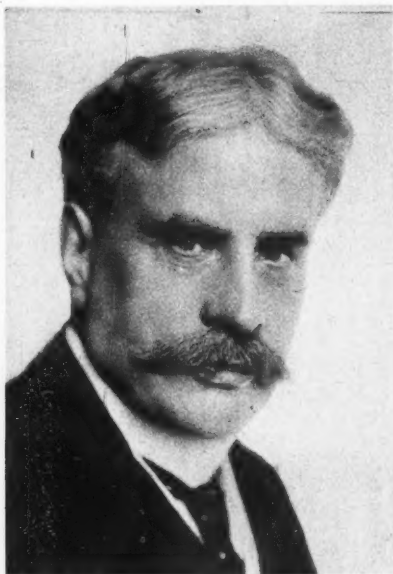
HENRY E. DUKE



Chief Secretary for Ireland, Who Has Been Recommended
by the British Government as Chairman of the Conven-
tion Called to Settle the Question of Irish Home Rule.

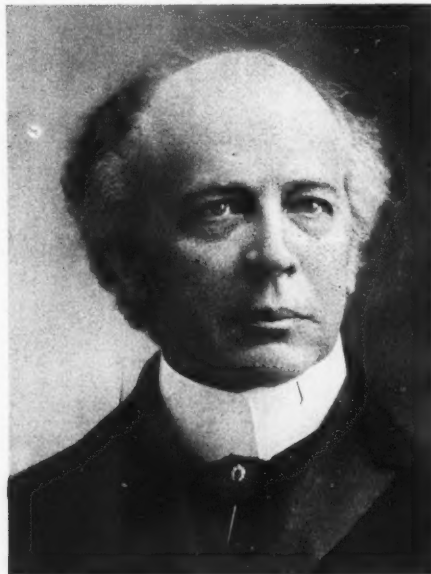
(Photo American Press Association)

CANADIAN LEADERS IN THE WAR



SIR ROBERT BORDEN
Premier and Leader in the
Fight for Conscription.

(Photo Campbell Studios.)



SIR WILFRID LAURIER
Ex-Premier and Chief Op-
ponent of Conscription.



W. J. HANNA
Recently Appointed Food
Controller.

(Photo Press Illustrating Service.)



SIR ARTHUR CURRIE
Commander in Chief of the
Canadian Corps in France.

(Photo Press Illustrating Service.)

Why We Entered the Great War

Address by William Howard Taft

Former President of the United States

[Delivered at the 121st Commencement Exercises of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., June 13, 1917]

Mr. Taft first summarized the attacks on our shipping and the plots that led up to our entry into the war, and then continued:

NOW, was there any other alternative for us than to declare war? I would like to begin with the fundamentals. That depends upon what in fact and in law the act of Germany was. What was the law? It is what is called international law; that is, a rule of conduct adopted by the acquiescence of all nations, of one nation toward another, both in peace and in war. The branch of international law in which we are concerned here is perhaps the most definitely fixed of any branch of that jurisprudence, which in some respects is indefinite. It is the branch that governs the capture of commercial vessels at sea. For a hundred years there has been very little doubt about the rules that control that field of jurisprudence. During the Napoleonic wars a great many commercial vessels were captured and in the procedure instituted they had to be brought into the domestic courts of prize where these rules were laid down. At the same time on our own side of the ocean our Supreme Court settled many of the cases. In our civil war, in the war between France and Germany, similar conditions were made. So that when we speak of that law we are speaking of a law that has some similitude to our domestic law.

In the first place, a belligerent—one of those engaged in war upon the high seas—may seize a commercial vessel of its enemy, may confiscate the vessel and its cargo, and, if necessity requires, may sink or burn it. The second is that a neutral vessel may be seized by a belligerent vessel upon the high seas and examined to see whether that neutral vessel is carrying contraband to the

enemy of the captor, and if so, the contraband may be confiscated. Third, a belligerent vessel may blockade a port of its enemy. It must blockade it with visible vessels and a knowledge to the world that a blockade exists. Even if a neutral vessel enter this blockade it may be seized by the belligerent and the cargo confiscated.

These are the three rules that cover the whole field of capture of commercial vessels. But accompanying these rules is the limitation that in taking a commercial vessel which makes no response when hailed, which does not attempt to escape under the circumstances I have described, it is the bounden duty of the captor to see to it that the officers, the crew, and the passengers, all of the ship's company, shall be put in a safe place. The captor may, as I say, sink or burn the vessel at the time or it may take it into port and have it adjudged a prize, but in either case the captor is bound to secure the lives of those who are upon that commercial vessel.

Deliberate Violations

Germany has violated that rule. It has deliberately caused the death of men, women and children on the high seas, under the American flag, and where they had a right to be. Killing against the law with deliberation is murder, and Germany has been guilty of murder of 200 of our fellow-citizens, innocent of any offense, national or international.

Now, what is our duty under these circumstances? The Constitution of the United States is interpreted by the Supreme Court to say the duty of the citizens of the United States is to render allegiance, to do service, to pay taxes, and support the Government, and the corresponding duty of the United States

as a Government is to protect the rights of citizens of the United States at home and abroad. Because one citizen of the United States puts himself under the lawful jurisdiction of another country, the absolute right of protection is qualified by his voluntary submission to another jurisdiction. The necessity for protection is not entirely taken away, but it is qualified. When a man is on an American deck and under the American flag, a citizen of the United States, he is as much entitled to protection from the unlawful invasion of a foreign power as if he stood on the soil of the United States.

In view, therefore, of the murder of these 200 citizens and of the announcement of a policy to continue these murders, what alternative was there left open other than a declaration of war to the United States? Suppose this had been Guatemala which had sunk one of our vessels and had sent ten of our sailors to the bottom? How many hours do you think it would be before the President and the Secretary of the Navy would send a battleship down to Guatemala and be thundering at the ports of that republic and demanding restitution, demanding a promise of conduct hereafter, demanding damages for what had been done, and on failure to answer promptly, to begin a bombardment? Even pacifists would have justified that.

Difficult Situations

Now, what is the difference between that situation and this? None? Yes. A very great difference. The nation that has done this is the greatest military nation in the world. It is a nation with which, if we engage, we are likely to lose, it may be, a million men, and all that to resent the sacrifice of only 200 souls. That, it is said, is a trivial discrepancy. Is it? It is if you look at it from a grossly material and mathematical standpoint, but it is not if you understand what it means to consent to the murder of 200 of our citizens because there is a powerful nation you have to meet and overcome in order to vindicate the rights of our citizens. It means submission to the domination of another

power; it means giving up the independence for which we fought in 1776 and which we made sacrifices to maintain in 1861.

There was great criticism of the Administration because we did not immediately act as we now have acted. I am not going into the pros and cons of that discussion. It suffices to say that the self-restraint, the deliberation, the tolerance, if you choose, which characterized that policy, has had this great and good effect. It has shown to the world, and it has shown to our people that in entering this war we have done it with the utmost reluctance, and in entering the war we are entirely void of offense. It has shown that we have been forced in and that the situation has been such that no self-respecting nation, no nation which appreciates what a government is formed for, could avoid doing what we are doing when the rights of our citizens, the preservation of which is the chief object of government, have been defiantly violated by a power that rests for its right upon might.

Why We Are in War

That is why we are in. There are many of us who think, "for my country, right or wrong; may she always be right, but always for my country." I do not care to discuss that philosophy, but I do think it important we should realize and take it home to our souls we do not need that kind of philosophy in fighting out the fight we are to fight now. In 1776 we were fighting for our own independence and the development of our future. In 1861 we tried to eliminate that living lie in the Declaration of Independence, which declared that "all men are born free and equal." It took us four years of a terrible struggle to demonstrate to the world what had been doubted. We demonstrated to the world that we could make sacrifices of lives and treasure for the maintenance of a moral principle and the integrity of the nation. We showed in the words of Lincoln, that "the rule of the people should not perish from the earth."

And then we went on and increased from 30,000,000 to 100,000,000 people, and we created a material expansion

which has given us greater wealth than any other country. We have had comfort and luxury. Now the question was when this issue came on whether in that change from 30,000,000 to 100,000,000, from comparative wealth to great wealth, we had lost the moral spirit we had before shown, we had become so enervated by our success that we felt it was not wise to risk the lives of those dear to us, to risk the destruction that war must bring in order to assert our rights. Now we have stepped to the forefront of nations, and they look to us.

Before we came into this fight Russia had become a democracy, and we find ourselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with the democracies of the world. We find arrayed against us the military dynasties of the world, Germany, Austria, and Turkey. Of course, people say England has a King; so has Italy and other countries that are fighting on our side. A democracy is a country ruled by the people. The King of England and the King of Italy haven't any more influence over the policies of their country than an ex-President.

Form Not Our Business

The issue at present is drawn between the democracies of the world and the military dynasties, and people like to characterize that as the issue. It is and it isn't. What I mean by that is: The United States is not a knight-errant country going about to independent people and saying, "We do not like your form of government, we have tried our own popular government and we think it is better for you to take it, and you have got to take it." That is a very unreasonable position, in so far as that form of government deals with only their domestic pursuits and their domestic happiness. If they like to have a Czar, if they prefer it, why, it isn't for us to take away their freedom of will. Otherwise we shall go back to the logic of the Inquisition, when they burned people in this world so that they might not burn in the next.

But when their form of government involves a policy which does not confine its opinions to the people who make the government or support it, but becomes a

visible policy against the welfare and happiness of the rest of the world family, we have a right and a duty, standing with other nations as we do, to see to it that such a foreign policy is stopped and stamped out forever.

I will not minimize or confuse. Germany is not exhausted. That machine which it has been creating for fifty years is a wonderful machine. * * * It did not interfere with Austria until Austria showed some signs of coming into a conference, and then it said to Austria, "This is the time to strike." It had been creating this force for fifty years, and now seemed the time to make it most effective. * * *

This militarism is a cancer which must be cut out by a surgical operation. It shows its malignant character in the utter disregard of the rules of war. It shows itself in the violation of Belgium, in the policy of frightfulness in order to subjugate Belgium; in the violation of The Hague treaties, which forbid the dropping of explosives out of aerial craft, the planting of mines, the use of asphyxiating gases and flames, all spread out in The Hague treaties, and all violated promptly by this German military machine.

It is therefore a cancer which would absorb the wholesome life of the world unless it is cut out, and necessitates suffering and pain in ridding the world of it. There are other evidences of divine plan. Think of the battle of the Marne, where this matchless machine began to find France and England unprepared, and they turned at the Marne when the German hosts with their guns were heard in Paris, and by mere moral force they turned these German legions back. Think of the blindness of this absorption of gross materialism as brought into the intellect of the Germans.

Don't Understand Others

They cannot understand other people. They cannot recognize a moral force that binds people together in a cause. They said England will not stand by Belgium; it has trouble with Ireland; they said France is torn with Socialism and it is a decadent nation. In both cases they made

blunders. They said as regards Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, England has no control over them by force; they are far removed from it and will follow the path of materialism and gain; they will follow where profit determines; they will not be held. And yet, nothing has been grander than this light bond which unites England with these independent dependencies, and they have rallied to the support of the mother country, responded out of gratitude for the liberty that it had conferred upon them, and they have made sacrifices which call for our profound admiration. Think of it. Canada has furnished upward of 400,000 men. Nearly every home in English Canada is mourning—their best and most beloved. If we furnish as many men as they have for this war our armies will reach 6,500,000 men.

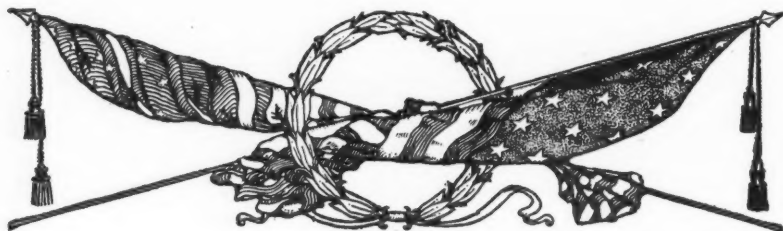
If our contributions to the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and other voluntary individual contributions, in addition to taxes, reach the figures which they have in Canada, we shall contribute \$14 to \$15 per capita.

My friends, those are the mistakes or blunders that Germany has made, self-imposed or imposed by a definite rule that when you subject yourself to grossly material considerations you lose the higher mental and spiritual forces which enable you to conquer in the end.

Now, the last blunder of all. In its determination to depend upon the devilish

ingenuity of science in the development of war, the Germans said: "We can starve England out with this submarine." When it saw us it said, "There is a tango-loving nation, too fat to fight, too lazy to go into the trenches," and they have deliberately forced us into the ranks of their enemies. Think of it. They have been fighting for nearly three years. The exhaustion that has come to them has had no comparison in history. The war must be determined by the weight of wealth and resources and the courageous men which can be gathered together to fight it out and be sure of a victorious battle in the end. And yet, in the face of that fact, we should impress on them that they deliberately forced into the ranks of their enemies the nation which can furnish more wealth, more resources, more equipment, and more men than any other nation in the world.

My friends, we are going to make these sacrifices. We do not know what they are yet, and we shall not know until we see the bulletins. The English people watched the bulletins for May and saw a loss of 114,000 in the British Army; 26,000 privates killed and 16,000 officers killed in action; 76,000 privates wounded, and 3,600 officers wounded and 7,000 missing. When we watch a report like this, then it will come home to us in our souls and we shall understand the sacrifice we have to make.



Wartime Life in European Capitals

Vienna—June, 1917

By a Viennese Sojourner at Berne

VIENNA hears little of the actual fighting. The city is full of people who seem bent on enjoyment, the cafés—where conversation about the war is taboo—are full of people from morning till night, the restaurants, where everything except bread and potatoes can be obtained, if one's purse is long enough, are crowded; the opera and the theatres have nearly every seat booked in advance and the cinemas are filled at every performance. In the fashionable streets of the city one cannot help remarking the extraordinary number of officers of all ranks and of both services, who appear to have no other duties than to make themselves agreeable to ladies. Both morning and afternoon the pavements are so crowded that progress is a matter of the utmost difficulty. On all sides are fine shops full of the latest fashions which find purchasers even at the prevailing exorbitant prices. Everything is up to date and of the best, but only within the reach of the rich.

If one makes inquiries below the surface, however, one finds that housekeeping, even on the most modest scale, is almost an impossibility, owing to the difficulty of obtaining supplies. The rich solve this difficulty by giving up all idea of catering for themselves and going to a good restaurant for most of their meals, but to those of moderate or small income the food problem is an ever-increasing anxiety. The question is no longer "What shall I buy?" but "What can I buy?" for it is impossible to procure many articles which were formerly regarded as necessities.

No longer can a customer, unless he can afford to pay a fancy price, choose a piece of meat; he must be thankful for anything he can get. Bread is not to be bought except with a bread card at a particular shop in the district in which the purchaser dwells, and very often he cannot get bread at all. The supply of potatoes is limited to one pound per person

weekly, but for some weeks recently there were none on the market. Milk is so scarce that no person can have more than about one-fifth of a pint daily. Such things as coffee, butter, fat, macaroni, rice, petroleum, soap, and leather are not to be bought. Cards are the order of the day—bread cards, fat cards, sugar cards, coffee cards—indeed, meat is about the only article of food for which a card is not necessary. This is because it was found that the demand for meat was not increasing, presumably on account of its prohibitive price. But as one Viennese plaintively remarked to my informant: "What earthly use are the cards to me if I cannot procure the articles to which they are supposed to entitle me?"

The shops are full of substitutes and prices have gone up enormously—in many cases as much as 300 or 400 per cent. A pair of men's boots of medium quality costs 85 kroner, (at pre-war rates, \$17.50,) a lounge suit 300 kroner (\$62.50) and more; a small box of sardines 4.50 kroner, (90 cents.) Meat ranges from 6 kroner (\$1.25) to 14 kroner (\$2.75) per kilogram, (2.2 lbs.) Danish butter is 14 kroner per kilogram, and one candle (candle size) costs 70 or 80 hellers, (16 cents.) Cheese costs 5 kroner (\$1.04) to 7 kroner (\$1.37) per kilogram, and everything else is in proportion.

The poor people are not noticeable in the streets. They are only heard of by chance, as it were, and their distress and privations during the last Winter, owing to the scarcity of coal and coke and the price of food, were the cause of numerous deaths from "hunger-typhus." Attempts are now being made to relieve their wants and cheap meat is being supplied to the really needy; but however cheap this meat may be, it is not of much use if the money is not forthcoming to pay for it.

In the country life is strenuous. The villages and small towns are peopled by

old men, women, and children, for every man and youth capable of holding a weapon has been drafted into the army. Day in and day out, from early dawn till late in the evening, the entire population of a village may be seen working on the land trying to raise a crop sufficient for their needs during the coming year, after a very large portion of the harvest has been commandeered by the Government to feed the army—and Vienna. Even in peace time the peasant lives frugally, but now he has to be content with his piece of black bread, which he soaks in his substitute for coffee, and his knödel, (a kind of dumpling,) and he may consider himself very fortunate if he can add eggs from his own fowls and potatoes from his own patch of ground. Meat he very seldom tastes, as he cannot afford to buy it, and he has also to do without many articles, as they are unobtainable in the shops.

Hopes for Peace

The attitude of the people toward the war may be described as one of total indifference—except in regard to its duration. The only desire of the people is for peace, “no matter who wins.” For some

little time there have been persistent rumors that Austria was about to make a separate peace. Indeed, the Burgomaster of Vienna has spoken very openly and freely about the desirability of peace. Letters received from Vienna have spoken of peace almost as a *fait accompli*. If Austria could shake off German influence and get good terms she would make peace tomorrow, but as she knows that she would be obliged to give up so much of her territory she is obliged to continue the fight, in the hope that something may turn up. As an Austrian soldier friend of my informant expressed it: “We are beginning to realize that all along we have been the tool of Germany, and whether we win or lose we shall have to pay, and pay dearly.”

From the press it is most difficult to gather anything about the real state of affairs except as regards parliamentary reform, which is being kept in the foreground and dangled before the eyes of the people to prevent them from dwelling upon more important matters. Every paper is carefully censored and papers frequently appear with a column or more blank; it is not an unknown thing for a number not to appear at all.

Paris—July, 1917

[BY A CORRESPONDENT OF THE NEW YORK WORLD.]

The complete list of things regulated in Paris is as follows:

Bread—May be sold not less than twelve hours after it leaves the baker's oven; must be of uniform “standard loaf” shape, all kinds of rolls being forbidden; must contain not more than 85 per cent. of wheat flour.

Meat—May not be sold or consumed in restaurants on Mondays and Tuesdays, with the exception of horse, donkey, or mule meat, which, however, may be bought only in butcher shops and not in restaurants.

Sugar—May be sold only upon presentation of a card issued by the municipal authority, which permits the purchase of not more than 750 grams per person per month.

Pastry—May be made only of rice flour and may not be sold on Tuesdays and

Wednesdays, on which days all pastry shops, tearooms, candy stores, &c., must be closed.

Coal, Gas, Transportation

Coal—Stocks in excess of one ton must be declared by all householders to the municipal authority; persons whose homes are not supplied with gas for heating and cooking are granted priority in the purchase of coal, to an extent, however, not exceeding eighty pounds per month. (Coal cards are soon to be introduced.)

Spirits—Alcohol, turpentine, gasoline, &c., may be purchased only by municipal card, to the extent of not more than two liters per month per household.

Gas and Electricity—Consumption in any household reduced by Government decree to about two-thirds of the amount consumed by the same household in November of 1913 or November of 1915.

Railroad Transportation—Trains greatly reduced in number, safe conducts for railroad travel issued only for journeys made necessary by business, health, or family reasons; each passenger limited to sixty pounds of personal baggage, except commercial travelers, who may carry up to 400 pounds by special license.

Paris Subway—Closed between 10 P. M. and 5:15 A. M., except on Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, when trains run till 11:15 P. M.

Automobile Taxicabs—Reduced in number to a maximum of 5,974, of which, however, not more than 2,500 are in operation at any given hour. (There were 8,000 constantly in operation before the war.)

Automobiles in General—Are limited to a maximum consumption of forty liters of gasoline per vehicle per week.

Street Car and Bus Lines—Are in operation daily only from 6 A. M. to 10 P. M. (Only two bus lines are operating on the pre-war scale.)

Must Keep to Earth

Aviation and Ballooning—Are strictly forbidden to private individuals.

Telegrams and Cables—Are accepted for transmission only after the sender has verified his identity by passports, &c.; must not be in code; must be in French except as regards messages abroad, which may be couched in French, Italian, or English, and are subject to censorship.

Letters—Are subject to censorship, and may be received at the general delivery without verification of the recipient's identity by passports, &c. Price of postage in France has been increased to 3 cents.

Telephone Communication—Is restricted to local and a few suburban exchanges. Long-distance calls are prohibited throughout France.

Wireless Telegraphy—May be used only by the Government.

Stores—Must be closed at 7 P. M. daily, except grocery and provision establishments.

Importation and Exportation of Merchandise—Regulated by a series of restrictions decreed by the Government. In principle all imports are forbidden, but

there are numerous exceptions to this law.

Firearms—May not be sold, and gunsmiths must keep a register to show to the police at monthly intervals.

Two Non-Bathing Days

Bathing Establishments—Are closed Mondays and Tuesdays.

Museums—Are closed with the exception of a few rooms in the Louvre and Luxembourg.

Theatrical, Musical, and Motion Picture Performances—Are subject to censorship by the Prefect of Police.

Advertising Matter—Must be submitted to the same authority.

Newspapers—Are subject to the military censorship; may not publish more than one edition daily or be cried by newsdealers; are restricted in size according to the form in which they appear. (Great newspapers like *Le Matin* and *Le Temps* print only one sheet four days a week.)

Photography—Is forbidden in the zone of the armies, and subject to local restrictions elsewhere.

Theatres and Concert Halls—Are permitted to give only seven evening and two matinée performances, or vice versa, and must close at 11 P. M.

No Evening Clothes

Evening Clothes and Decolleté Frocks—May not be worn at theatres or restaurants or in other public places.

Cafés and Restaurants—Must be closed at 9:30 P. M.; may not sell spirituous liquors to soldiers at any time, and to civilians before 11 A. M.; may not have orchestras.

Dancing—Is forbidden both in public places and in the home.

Games of Chance—Are not tolerated even in the fashionable clubs.

Hunting—Is forbidden except in regions where, on the responsibility of the local Government authority, a general authorization to destroy overabundant game during a specified period is issued.

Horse Racing—Is prohibited, with the exception of a few rarely authorized semi-public "trials" of thoroughbreds at which betting is not permitted.

Fairs—Save certain semi-public bazaars held for the benefit of war charities, are forbidden.

Stock Exchange Transactions in Futures—Are prohibited, except for the liquidation of contracts entered upon before the war.

Gold—May not be dealt in commercially and may not be taken out of France.

Personal liberty is restricted by numerous regulations. France is divided into three zones—of the army, of the interior, and of the frontiers. For all of them passports and municipal identification papers (*permis de séjour*) are required; for the zone of the armies one must also have a special safe conduct issued by the Great General Staff, and for the frontier

zone a safe conduct issued by the Ministry of War. Motoring from one community to another is forbidden except in cases considered exceptional by the Government. To enter or leave France foreigners are obliged to carry passports countersigned by a French Consulate in the country from which they have come or by a Consulate in France of the country to which they are going, and in addition to all the papers mentioned above they are now required to obtain a special identity card, application for which must be made immediately.

Less than half these restrictive measures were put into effect at the time of mobilization, and all those controlling food consumption are less than six months old.

Berlin—June, 1917

[By F. Sefton Delmer, an Australian, English Lecturer at Berlin University from 1901 to 1914; interned at Ruhleben from November, 1914, to March, 1915; resident at Berlin until May, 1917.—In *The London Times*.]

The Germans were enthusiastic for the war only so long as they were convinced that it was going to pay a tangible, material dividend. As long as it promised to be a big scoop of other nations' wealth they were for it, heart and soul, peer and peasant, Socialist and Junker. Let this never be forgotten. Their enthusiasm waned as soon as success began to look doubtful. Their doubts will turn into execration from the moment they recognize that defeat is inevitable. The last of these three stages has not yet been reached, but they are well on in the second.

It was in the days immediately following Rumania's entrance into the war that their confidence reached its lowest ebb. It was about this time that the criticism of the Emperor and his family and his policy became positively bitter—so bitter as to alarm his Majesty not a little. The Rumanian débâcle saved the situation, and the offer of peace clinched it.

When the limelight-loving Kaiser stepped forward as the protagonist of peace it was a clever move with a double object. It aimed at throwing dust in the eyes of pacifists abroad in order to pro-

mote dissension in the ranks of the Allies, and at the same time it was meant to convince the malcontents at home that they were the victims not of the German Emperor's own criminal policy, but of "that wicked England and its accomplices."

Jeers at the Kaiser

When I remarked to the intelligent old Portierfrau of a house in the aristocratic Tiergarten quarter that I had seen the Kaiser a few days before and that he was looking very well, "Ach, der!" (Oh, he!) said the old lady. "I daresay he does, but he wouldn't look so well by a long chalk if he only knew what folk around here are thinking and saying about him. And he thought he was going to beat the English! He, indeed!"

Any one who knows German will no longer recognize the Germany in which the contemptuous demonstrative pronoun "der" can be used of his Imperial Majesty. That in itself is almost a revolution. No; the common people and, what is more, the common soldiers have not the faintest trace left of enthusiasm for the war. "Ach, Gott, wenn man nur das Ende absehen könnte," (If one only knew when and how it's all going to end,) they sigh. You hear the same song wherever you go: at the Boerse, in the banks, in the shops, and in the queues.

At the police station, where I had to report myself daily, I often exchanged a few words with the man whose duty it was to stamp my paper. He used to ask me about once a fortnight when I thought the war was coming to an end, and to give an oracular answer each time rather taxed my supply of commonplaces. With some people who asked this question I usually fell back on the reply of the Scotsman to his German prisoner: "I canna say positeevly; but I think the fur-st three year-rs'll see the wur-rst of it." On another occasion, when I modestly disclaimed all powers of second sight, the man, a furniture dealer, would not take "I haven't the faintest idea" for an answer. "Oh, you must know, all right," he said, "for you're an Englishman."

Just before I came away, however, the *Möwe* films were shown, and they were, from many points of view, well worth seeing. From a German standpoint they are undoubtedly a gross mistake, for, in their grim realism, they bring home to the beholder the wholesale and wanton destruction of peaceful merchantmen and lead the imagination to conceive the unspeakable horrors of the U-boat war, horrors which the Germans, as a whole, have not yet grasped. One sees on these films, which take exactly one hour to show, steamers and sailing ships brought up, one sees the torpedo strike the ship, and the noble vessel, as in agony, struggle, writhe, fill, and sink.

The effect on the spectators was the very reverse of what the military authorities wished to produce. Far from being exhilarated, the public seemed depressed by the sight of what they felt to be cold-blooded murder of unarmed ships. "Schrecklich! Schrecklich!" (Frightful!) they whisper, as if it is just beginning to dawn on them why that other more terrible and cowardly form of hostilities, the U-boat war, has made the German name so detested throughout the civilized world.

On one of the pictures one sees the Captain of the Brecknockshire after his ship has sunk, standing on the bridge of the *Möwe* beside Graf Dohna, the German commander. The latter had made

some joke at which the British Captain, as was intended, had felt constrained to laugh, although he had just seen his ship sunk, but his heart was breaking. The chivalrous German newspapers sneer at his heartlessness. "This is an English dschentleman," they say, "laughing as he watches his ship go down!"

Hidden Casualties

In spite of all the Germans' twisting of facts, and all their skill in making the worse appear the better reason, they really do not believe they are winning. None of them has, it is true, any idea of their actual losses in the field. Vague estimates are current. I take the one that is going the rounds as being most symptomatic. Among the officials at the Deutsche Bank a report was recently in circulation estimating Germany's losses alone at 1,300,000 men killed up to the end of March, 1917. A civilian in a high official position, who was present at the discussion, contradicted this, saying that he believed this estimate to be too low by at least half a million.

But no official totals are published. The long sheets of casualties are still pasted up on the polished granite of the *Kriegsakademie* (Staff College) in Berlin, but one no longer sees the groups of weeping women and eager searchers that were constantly standing there in the early stages of the war. The authorities now have more expeditious private ways of informing the relatives.

In spite of their doubts about victory, and of their distrust of and resentment at the methods their own Government has adopted toward them, there is no sign that the Germans will yield till they are at their last gasp. I have, however, myself heard certain members of the Roman Catholic Centre Party in the Reichstag say that they did not see how either Germany or its enemies could possibly hold out till Christmas. Any such discouraging statements when made by less privileged individuals than members of Parliament are liable to be regarded as treasonable, and a reward of £150 is promised to any one who can bring any propagator of such rumors to book. Police proclamations to this effect adorn the advertisement pillars in the streets.

This public incitement to private denunciation has produced a reign of terror. "Nobody is safe in even the most confidential conversation," I heard a university student say. This new regulation has certainly had the effect of muzzling conversation between all but the closest of friends.

Even their idol Hindenburg now comes in for criticism. He has the reputation of being a man who boasts of never having read any books except those written on military subjects, nor have I ever seen or heard of a single statement of his that betrayed anything more than a mediocre mind. Nevertheless, among the Reventlow party Hindenburg is still a fetic.

Hindenburg or no Hindenburg, both soldiers and officers are heartily sick of the war in general and the western front in particular, from which officers are known regularly to head their letters home with the words, "Noch am Leben," (Still alive.)

And that, I think, expresses the state of Germany regarded as a whole. "In spite of everything, we're still alive!"

The well-paid munition workers excite the envy of the rest of the working classes. "These munition workers, who are getting handsome pay and all sorts of extra food, even sausage and fat, are the last who have reason to strike," says the ordinary workman.

The munition workers' strike in Berlin in the middle of April was brought about by the proclamation of a smaller bread ticket. The strike had practically no political inspiration, and was soon nipped in the bud. The authorities, fearing a new outbreak on May 1, liberally sprinkled policemen about on the bridges and at other strategic points of the town, much to their discomfort on that bleak east-wind day.

These strikes, as well as the riots at Magdeburg and Leipsic in March, seem to have been rather absurdly exaggerated in some English newspapers. As far as Berlin goes, not even a revolver shot was fired. All the talk about machine guns having been turned on the crowd is sheer moonshine.

The German Government put the people on bread rations at an early stage in the war. One after another, almost all

other foodstuffs had to be brought under the card system. Only at a comparatively late date, however, was the intimate connection between the supply of food for human being and the supply of fodder for stock recognized. The tardy recognition of the economic connection between food and fodder very nearly led to disaster. The Reichsfuttermittelstelle (Imperial Fodder Commission) is now of almost greater importance than the Reichsgetreidestelle, (Imperial Breadstuffs Commission.)

These two organizations are at present working out a great scheme for the formation of a monopoly of the fodder and breadstuffs produced in the whole of Germany. Up to the middle of May Bavaria was still half unwilling to throw in its lot with Northern Germany by joining in the proposed monopoly, but was showing signs of yielding to Prussia's cajolery.

Great battles were taking place behind the scenes when I left, as I know from private sources, as to whether the new organization of the breadstuff and fodder supplies of the whole German Empire was to be run on the lines of a great private monopoly or on State socialistic lines. Some big financiers were anxious for the former, while their opponents, following Adam Smith, (Yes! Adam Smith was quoted in the commission,) maintained that such a plan would spell depredation and hasten revolution. As far as I could understand, Dr. Michaelis was likely to decide in favor of the State socialistic form.

Wood for Food

In Germany there is at present in use a method secretly but every extensively practiced of obtaining a kind of flour from wood. This "flour" goes by the name of Holzmehl. It is a modification of the discovery of a Swedish savant, whose name I have forgotten. I saw a German translation of his book on the subject in the hands of the Director of the Fodder Commission.

This new wood-fodder is a sort of forlorn hope which the landowners have eagerly clutched at. The Russian forests in the occupied districts, I have heard, are being ruthlessly cut down and turned

into wood-meal. This wood-meal is intended primarily to serve as a cattle food. Of its nutritive properties I know nothing. They are said to be low. Bread is also made from it, and I have been told that it is given to the soldiers. I am more inclined to think that it is reserved as a delicacy for the prisoners' camps.

It will probably be an improvement on the war bread served out to us at *Ruhleben* in the Winter of 1914-15, which was made of all sorts of inferior ingredients and included flour made from straw. I remember yet the rasped, scratched feeling it produced in one's throat and digestive canal.

Constantinople—June, 1917

[By a correspondent who obtained this expression of views from an official who investigated conditions in Turkey.]

It is almost impossible to give a complete picture of present-day conditions in the Ottoman Empire, because even the most inquiring foreign resident in Turkey finds his efforts to obtain accurate information persistently balked. No diplomatist is allowed to leave Constantinople, except, of course, to return home; and communication between Ambassadors and Ministers there, and Consuls and Vice Consuls at Smyrna, Beirut, Damascus, and Jerusalem, are limited and extremely irregular. Only one non-Turk has succeeded in getting through from Smyrna to Constantinople for nearly a year. He turned up toward the end of last month, and told us that, thanks to the good feeling of the Turkish Governor there, Europeans and Americans have a very comfortable time. The British colony numbers about forty, and its members are technically supposed to be "interned." As a matter of fact, however, they are allowed complete liberty during the daytime, the only restriction being that they must be indoors before 10 o'clock each evening. The Englishmen there are nearly all representatives of large Lancashire and Yorkshire textile firms. They are greatly respected by the Turks, and bear up very bravely.

British Prisoners

British officers and men whom I have met in Turkey generally told me that they were well treated; and my own experience is similar, so far as the civilians are concerned. The internment of civilians, I admit, is frequently attended by serious hardships, but these arise from the general conditions existing in Turkey, and are not to be ascribed to cruel-

ty on the part of the Turks. I have known cases of poor Europeans who have had to walk with their jailers hundreds of miles across barren country to inland internment camps.

The peace sentiment is daily growing stronger throughout all classes, but it is folly to imagine that Turkey will ever take the initiative toward making a separate peace. I think, on the other hand, that sympathetic handling on the part of the allied powers might "detach" Turkey from her Teutonic masters.

Popular discontent in Constantinople is provoked by the food scarcity, and not by the loss of close on 500,000 square miles of Turkish territory and 5,000,000 Turkish subjects in Asia. I don't think the average poor Turk has any spirit left to grieve greatly over empire losses, but the authorities, who probably know their people better than I do, take no risks; and an organized attempt to conceal, or at least minimize, British success in Mesopotamia and Egypt is in operation. The fall of Bagdad has not yet been officially announced in Turkey, nor has any Turkish newspaper ever contained any reference to it.

The German Grip

The Germans are more unpopular than ever; but, curiously enough, their grip on the country is tighter than ever. The only tactful thing the Germans do is to conceal the outward manifestation of their authority. The story which constantly crops up about a German garrison of 60,000 men in Constantinople is false. At the most there are not 6,000; and these are kept discreetly concealed in a building outside the city. The crews of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* never come to Constantinople, and there are no German policemen in the city. Enver Pasha still

continues to be the dominant figure in Turkey.

This man is an enigma. He rules with a hand of iron; and those of his opponents who have escaped the summary process of hanging are so terrified and obsequious that the great man rules unperturbed. The misery and suffering of the masses of the people in Constantinople and the other large cities are very great; but I doubt whether, making allowance for the size of their respective populations, there is as much abject poverty as in London or New York. It must be admitted, however, that people do actually die of starvation in Constantinople. In spite of all German efforts to impose a "system" of food distribution upon Turkey, bread is the only article of food in which a partial Government monopoly has been established. Every Turk, rich or poor, is entitled to half a pound of bread daily for one penny. If his needs extend beyond this amount, he must buy "Trangola" bread, (a kind of luxury bread,) at 1s. 8d. per pound. The Europeans find the cost of living terribly high. Early this month, as I personally ascertained, tea cost £2, coffee 14s., and sugar 8s. per pound. The middle and upper classes, in spite of, or because of, the war, live a gay, feverish kind of life. The cafés, theatres, and cinema houses are crowded daily. Special cinema performances are given for the women.

New and Old Turkey

The Young Turk Government, it must be confessed, is doing its utmost to encourage the Turks to prepare themselves for the after-the-war economic struggle.

Elementary school teachers are excused military service, and new schools are springing up like mushrooms throughout the empire. The "right-for-women" movement is making astonishing progress. Let me quote the following instance, (one among many:) A great charity concert took place early last month in Constantinople, and a group of aristocratic "new" women determined to exercise their rights. They went together to the concert hall, only to find their entrance to it barred by two policemen. "There are men in there; you cannot enter," said the head policeman, in horrified tones. "We are going to enter. We've bought our tickets," said the spokeswoman of the group. "Impossible," said the policeman. "Telephone the Ministry of the Interior and see what the Minister says," cried the women. The policeman rang up the Ministry and received the laconic reply: "Let the ladies in." The "new" woman in Turkey had won another victory.

Side by side with the new movement are the old ways. I went recently to call upon the Grand Vizier and his wife. The latter ordered coffee, but in spite of repeated protests to the servants it was not until one hour and a half later that the coffee arrived. The Grand Vizier's wife is not "modern." She claps her hands to summon the servants, and does not touch an electric bell. The long delay before the coffee was served did not displease her. "You see," she explained, "that we Turks are not really suited to the rapid, go-ahead methods of the West."

New Order of Knighthood for Women in Great Britain

IN recognition of services that have been rendered both by British subjects and their allies in connection with the war the King has instituted two orders.

The first is an Order of Knighthood, to be styled "The Order of the British

Empire," and to be conferred for services rendered to the empire, whether at home or abroad. This order will follow, in most respects, the precedents of other orders of knighthood, but it will consist of five classes, and will be given to women as well as men. The first two

classes will, in the case of men, carry the honor of knighthood, and in the case of women the privilege of prefixing the title "Dame" to their names.



STAR WORN BY MEMBERS OF FIRST TWO CLASSES, ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The second order will be entitled the "Order of the Companions of Honour," and will consist of one class only, to which women will be eligible equally with men. The order will carry with it no title or precedence, and will be conferred upon a limited number of persons, for whom this distinction seems to be the most appropriate form of recognition, constituting, as it will, an honor dissociated either from the acceptance of title or the classification of merit.

Both orders, though created in connection with the war, will doubtless survive it.

The King appointed the Prince of Wales to be Grand Master of the order.

The five classes of the order are as follows:

Men.—1. Knights Grand Cross, (G. B. E.) 2. Knights Commanders, (K. B. E.) 3. Commanders, (C. B. E.) 4. Officers, (O. B. E.) 5. Members, (M. B. E.)

Women.—1. Dames Grand Cross, (G. B. E.) 2. Dames Commanders, (D. B. E.) 3. Commanders, (C. B. E.) 4. Officers, (O. B. E.) 5. Members, (M. B. E.)

The badge of the order, worn by the members of the first, second, and third classes, is a silver gilt cross, enameled pearl gray, in the centre of which, in a



BADGE, ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

circle enameled crimson, is a representation of Britannia seated. The circle contains the motto of the order, "For God and the Empire."

The star, worn by members of the first two classes, is an eight-pointed silver star, the centre of which bears the same device as the badge.

The treatment of the badge for the fourth class is similar to that for the first, second, and third classes, except that it is smaller and is not enameled. In the case of the fifth class the badge is of silver instead of silver gilt.

As in the case of other orders, the members will have the privilege of placing the initials (above indicated) after their names.

Assassination of Austrian Premier

The Apologia of Dr. Adler an Important Utterance

DR. FRIEDRICH ADLER, who assassinated the Austrian Premier, Count Stürgkh, in October, 1916, was condemned to death for his act, but the Socialists of neutral countries and the radicals in Germany and Russia have petitioned that his life be spared. After the sentence was pronounced the condemned man turned to the spectators and shouted, "Long live international, revolutionary Social Democracy!" a cry that was loudly re-echoed from the crowded court and galleries, while women waved their handkerchiefs and the whole assembly, even including some individuals in the well of the court, enthusiastically applauded the prisoner. The President thereupon ordered the court to be cleared, and four people were arrested in the process, while other arrests were afterward made in the street.

Dr. Adler delivered an address after his trial which produced a profound impression. He protested emphatically against the attempt to represent him as not responsible for his actions. He had known beforehand, he said, that the "Government Socialists" of Austria and Germany would try to place that construction on his deed, and his counsel was naturally anxious to do the same, but the change that came over Austrian political life within only a few days of the assassination of Count Stürgkh was striking enough to compel some slight recognition even then that the deed was not that of a mere irresponsible.

He asserted that all constitutional rights had been suspended in Austria by the failure of the Premier to assemble the Reichsrat. He declared that the keynote to the situation in Austria and the explanation of his deed were that there was no authority left in Austria that could be considered constitutionally competent, and that Count Stürgkh had persistently suppressed the one institution which could have held him and his Cab-

net to account, namely, the Reichsrat. What other way remained open then, he asked, of calling Ministers to account than the way they had themselves chosen, that of force? Years before, in November, 1898, Herr Hohenburger himself, (Count Stürgkh's Minister of Justice,) who was not in office then, declared in the Reichsrat on the subject of legislation by royal decree that any treading underfoot of justice in Austria would not go unpunished. "Herr Minister-President," he said at that time, "take care that you do not bring things to such a pass that you are made to learn that an aggravated people can create justice for itself, and that today still there is an emergency code of peoples." Yet it was this same Hohenburger, who, in conjunction with Count Stürgkh, promulgated on July 25, 1914, such a series of arbitrary decrees as proved that everything had been prepared long before the outbreak of war.

"Hohenburger and Stürgkh," said Dr. Adler, "deliberately planned this coup d'état, and for that reason the moral justification of my deed is complete for me as a citizen. The question at issue is not whether force is justifiable, but what is my individual position. In my opinion, every citizen is justified, if the law is trodden underfoot, in securing justice for himself. When a Government has placed itself outside the legal domain, every citizen is justified in holding it to account outside that domain also. Indeed, every citizen is not only justified in so doing, but is under an obligation so to do."

He objected to being classed as either a patriot or an anti-patriot. He had always held, he said, that the cause of socialism was a much greater thing than any temporary State organism, and that Socialists should not identify themselves too intimately with any one State, as certain of his former friends had now unfortunately done. Indeed, he declared,

it is only since the '70s that the ideal of the national State has taken root among even the bourgeoisie, which at the same time began to regard it, not as the nation, but as an economic unit. Everywhere before that date the intellectual bourgeoisie was not patriotic, but national, and the attitude of the German Austrians was then what that of the Czechs is today. Now, however, the bourgeoisie is interested in the maintenance as an economic unit not only of Austria, but of the whole Central European bloc—with the King of Prussia at its head, of course, and Austria subordinate to him. Its ideal, in fact, is no longer national independence, but national predominance and the foundation of an empire from Berlin to Bagdad. Many Social Democrats, Dr. Adler complained, had themselves been carried away by this development, but while, he observed, it was true in his own case that Austria played a part in his motives, it was not on account of her existence as a State, but as a moral unit. It was the Austrian character for which he was concerned.

"Already at school," he said, "it was clear to me that the greatest sin, the one which cannot be forgiven, is the sin against character; the sin that is customary in Austria. And if you wish to understand my deed and all that led to it, there must run like a red thread through all your considerations the recognition that it was a revolt, a protest against this sin against character which prevents any manly action in Austria. We are in a State which was once made (Roman) Catholic again by fire and sword at the time of the counter-reformation. We are in a State in which the convictions of men are despised, in which it is never recognized that the individual must act according to his convictions. It is the State of the Metternich doctrine which weighed down Austria before 1848, the State which has fettered free speech in order to create a slavish public opinion. * * * I have shown what Hochenburger said in 1898 and how he afterward acted as Minister. It is this abandonment of any loyalty to convictions, this complete lack of stability,

which has always filled me with the deepest hatred of Austria, not as a political unit, but as a moral one; of the Austrian character for untrustworthiness."

These traits, Dr. Adler continued, were to be found among all the nationalities of the monarchy, and they had penetrated his own party, a penetration against which his deed was a protest. He was not a fanatical purist, he declared, but he did hold that a man should be clear with himself as to the ground on which he stood, and he despised a party that allowed Austrian Germans to masquerade as Socialists. He denied, however, that he was isolated from the majority of his party except as concerned his final act, and maintained, indeed, that in the seven months that had since elapsed the world had in many respects come around to his standpoint and that much that was characterized as absurd then was now considered quite natural.

Internationalism, for instance, had become the very hope of the Austrian Government, and none were today more sought after by Count Czernin than the "revolutionists," to whom the Public Prosecutor had referred as being the speaker's associates, and who, as having a certain amount of influence in Russia, were to travel to Stockholm with the Government Socialists of Germany as "the commercial travelers of the Foreign Office." Austria's real greeting to the Stockholm conference, however, Dr. Adler observed, would be the sentence passed upon himself.

Proceeding to trace in detail the developments which led him to regard his party as having altogether forsaken the Socialist ideal and his attempts to persuade it of its mistake, Dr. Adler stated that he finally came to the conclusion that only by acting in opposition to the party leaders would it be possible to effect a real revolution in Austria, and that he must do what he could to pave the way for that revolution. That, he said, did not mean that he became an anarchist, or that he imagined he alone could set afoot a revolution. On the contrary, he had always held that the battle must be fought, not by individuals, but by the masses, and he had never believed that

the people would rise in his support. All he wanted to do was to prove to the people and the Government alike that revolutionary action in Austria was not a matter of impossibility, and thus to set the ball a-rolling. It was not his intention to introduce a new Socialist method of warfare, and in general he would deprecate such isolated deeds; but his own was an exceptional one, provoked by exceptional circumstances.

Dr. Adler proceeded to recount the special considerations that had weighed with him, and dealt in detail with the abuse of the censorship, the scandal of the political trials held during the war, and Count Stürgkh's determined attempt to establish permanently an absolutist régime, which eventually became so apparent as to be beyond all doubt, and finally determined the speaker to take forcible action. And at this point the latter was careful to point out that it was not against Count Stürgkh himself but against his system that the deed was directed. He had, he said, a certain respect for the former Premier, who contrasted favorably in his manly straightforwardness with many of his associates. Having consciously taken his stand on force, he had to be removed by force, but

the speaker reserved his contempt for those Austrians "who tolerated Stürgkh without attempting to defend themselves, and who by their behavior furnished the proof that every land has the Stürgkh it deserves."

Above all, Dr. Adler concluded, he was moved to his final act by the political situation at the moment. The fact that there seemed not the slightest prospect of peace affected him profoundly, and he thought hopelessly of what would happen at the Austrian Labor Congress that was to meet on Nov. 5, and of how he would again bring forward his motion for peace without annexations, and of how he would perhaps be able to count an increase of two or three in his following. In that way, he felt, he would never reach the masses; hence his choice of another weapon, which had proved effective in this, as in other respects. The resolution that was adopted on Nov. 5, said the speaker, was almost identical with my own, with the one that had always been rejected previously. My deed, therefore, had the result I anticipated. I have never regretted it since, and am convinced that it was profitable—that I did what had to be done to rescue the situation from the stagnation into which it had fallen.

The Armenian Tragedy

By Edmund Candler

[WRITTEN AT BAGDAD IN APRIL, 1917]

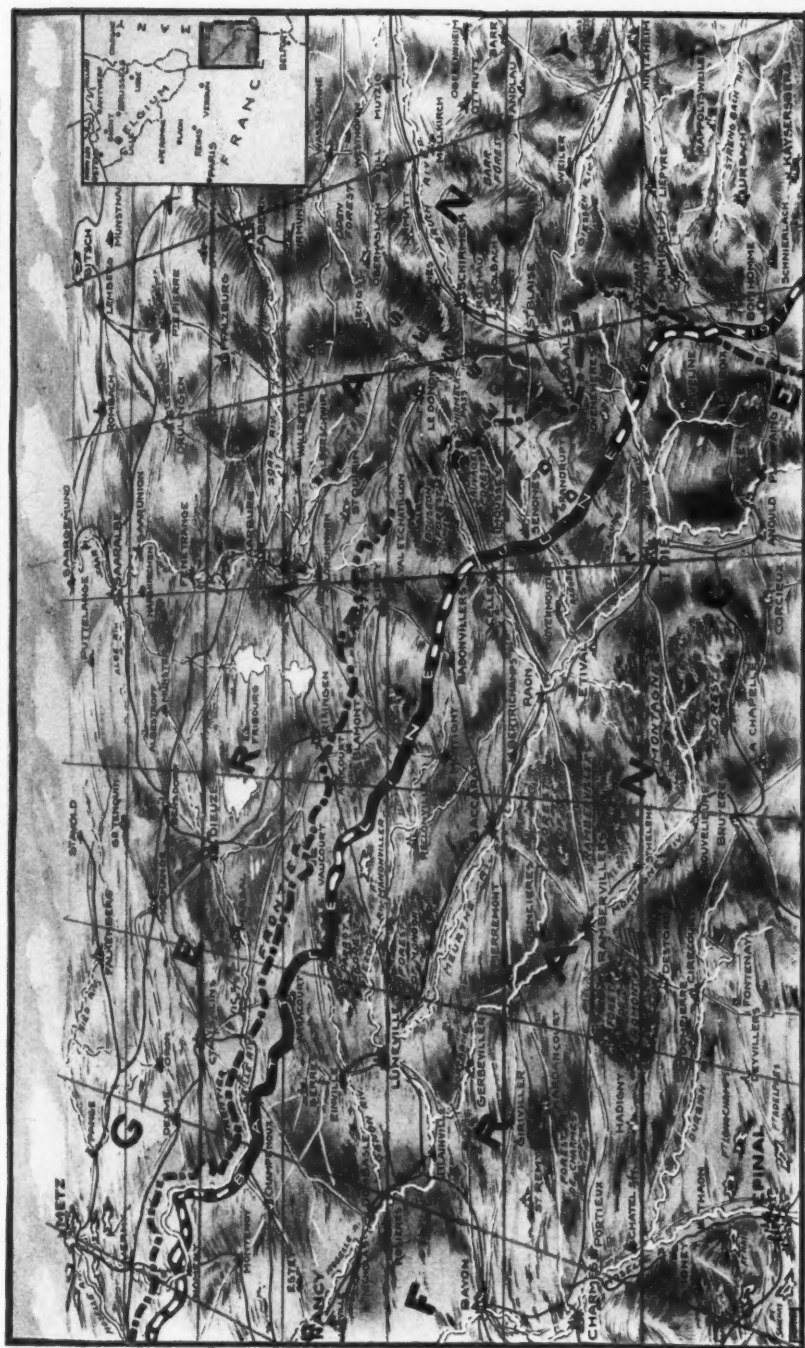
ONE of the best things that are being done in Bagdad is the salvage of Armenian women and children who have survived the massacres and who are now living in Mussulman families. These are being gathered into homes financed by the British Government, and their own community is looking after them.

I visited one of these institutions yesterday. The inmates were all young, many of marriageable age, and there were a great number of children under 6 who have already forgotten their language and their faith.

The bald statement of what they have

suffered and seen is a damning and unanswerable arraignment against the Turkish Government. The first girl I saw was a child of 10 from a village near Erzerum. She and her family had started on donkeys with a few of their belongings, but in three days the Kurds had left them nothing, and they had to walk. The Turks had issued a proclamation in all the villages that the Armenians were to be sent away to a colony that was being prepared for them, and that their property was to be kept under the care of the Government during the war and then restored. This was

WHERE THE FRENCH FRONT APPROACHES GERMAN TERRITORY



Picture-map (in ten-mile squares in perspective) showing the proximity of the French battle line to the lost Province of Lorraine.

(Copyright The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial)

THE FRENCH BATTLE FRONT IN ALSACE



Picture-map (in ten-mile squares in perspective) showing where the battle line rests on the Swiss frontier and the section of Alsace so far regained by France.

(Copyright The New York Times and World Pictorial)

more than a year ago. The gendarmes were very pleasant to them in their homes, and told them that they were to be given new land to cultivate, and that their journey would not be long. The first assurance, as they guessed, was visionary. In the second the gendarmes did not lie.

For many of them it was all over on the third day. Two or three hundred of the men were separated from the women and killed at a distance, shot or cut down with the sword. After that the same thing happened nearly every day. The guards were very haphazard; there was no system. Some of the women were pushed into the river, others thrust over precipices. Twelve hundred left the two villages near Erzerum; 400 only reached Ras-el-Ain. The survivors were all women and children; there was not a man among them, or a child over the age of 9.

I met a refugee from the Kara-Hissar district who, with six companions, had been saved by some Armenian women he found established in a Bedouin camp. Eight hundred families in all had left Kara-Hissar. Half of these were capsize and drowned on Arab boats on the Euphrates. The survivors, when they reached Deir-ez-Zor, were placed in an internment camp. While here they approached the Mutesarrif, hoping to purchase their release. They offered him 3,000 liras. It was not enough. They made a second collection; every piastre they could raise was thrown into the pool. This time the sum was nearly 5,000 liras, and the Mutesarrif accepted the bribe on condition that they should sign a paper, "We, the Armenians of —, give this sum willingly to the Turkish Army." But it did not save them. The hated gendarmes accompanied them on the march, and nine miles from the city the massacre began. Sticks and stones and knives and daggers were employed, and a few merciful bullets. But, as always happens, the assassins tired of their work; even the physical part of it was exhausting, and the last act was postponed from day to day. In the end a tired gendarme gave them the hint to go. The night was dark, and the guard more

careless than usual, and the last remnants of the party, fifty-five in all, made their escape.

Another man I heard of was the sole survivor of a group of refugees who disappeared between Ras-el-Ain and Nisibin. They were taken into the desert and formed in line, as in a Chinese execution, to be dispatched with the sword. There was no shortage of ammunition, I was told, but the sword was employed for reasons of economy. While waiting for his turn, it occurred to the Armenian that a bullet would be an easier death. So he broke from the line. In the confusion the gendarmes missed him. It was almost dusk; he hid in the brushwood; by a miracle he escaped, and found his way to Bagdad.

The main features of the massacres are much the same. The emigrants, if they are not killed on the road, are taken to some depot, where they are kept a few days. Here they find a large camp of two or three thousand or more. Soon notice comes from Constantinople that the refugees of a certain district have been allotted land for cultivation, and they are told they must start on their journey again. This, they know, is probably the death sentence, but they nourish a thin hope. For the first half day they are generally safe, as murder on a large scale is deprecated near a town. Nobody, for instance, saw any one killed in Trebizond; but a few days after the Armenians had left the city their bodies came floating down the river. The desert is a non-conductor. What is done there leaves only vague rumor.

The refugees, though unarmed, sometimes turn on their guard. More than once the assassins have paid dearly. There is a woman in Bagdad who was one of a band of 200 or 300 Armenian women from the hills who held a pass near Urfa. Their men had been treacherously killed off earlier, and they knew that obedience to the proclamation of exile was as fatal as resistance. They held the pass with their rifles nearly a week, and the Turks had to bring up artillery. Some fifty of them escaped. The woman who is now in Bagdad was rescued

by a Turk of the better school, who respected her honor and on the journey treated her as his own daughter, though he failed to convert her to Islam.

Few Armenian women were so fortunate. Many were killed with as little scruple as the men. Plainness or good looks were fatal in different ways. The old and ugly died by violence or were starved; the young were taken into the families of the Turks. A traveler now

in Bagdad was given a letter by an official at Ras-el-Ain to deliver to the gendarme in charge on the road. "Choose a pretty one for me," he wrote, "and leave her in the village outside the town."

At Aleppo and Ras-el-Ain German officers stalked side by side with these spectres of famine and murder and death, and not a finger was raised or a word said.

Enormous Weight of Metal Hurled by Artillery

THE weight of projectiles fired from the German 77-millimeter guns in the battle of the Somme in July, 1916, was more than 121,000 tons, or about equal to the combined weight of four superdreadnought battleships of the Pennsylvania type, the largest vessel of that class now in commission in the United States Navy. In an article dealing with the expenditure of ammunition in the Somme battles The Field Artillery Journal, published by the officers of the United States Army, says that in July there is reason to believe that the 77-millimeter guns in the German Army fired projectiles the total weight of which was 121,140.25 tons, or 242,280,500 pounds.

"That the expenditure of field artillery ammunition in the present war has been enormous and beyond any conception based upon previous experience is well known, but, like many other matters of importance," The Field Artillery Journal says, "exact data have not generally been available.

"The following data, taken from General Sixt von Arnim's report concerning the battle of the Somme, July, 1916, are extremely interesting in that they give the maximum expended in any one day of twenty-four hours and the average daily expenditure during the month of July, 1916.

"First—Maximum artillery ammunition expended in any one day of twenty-four hours:

	Rounds Per Gun.
77-mm. field gun.....	322
105-mm. field howitzer.....	479
150-mm. howitzer	233

	Rounds Per Gun.
105-mm. gun	321
210-mm. mortar	116

"Second—Daily average during July, 1916:

	Rounds Per Gun.
77-mm. field gun.....	145
105-mm. field howitzer.....	170
150-mm. howitzer	119
105-mm. gun	118
210-mm. mortar	51

"One field battery (howitzers) expended in one day 3,500 gas shells.

"The actual number of guns in action is not known. The best information gives a probable number of one field gun, exclusive of heavy types, for every twenty yards of front. The approximate frontage of the Somme battle was forty miles, so that the number of field guns engaged numbered in the vicinity of 3,500. Each gun fired 145 projectiles per day, or a total of 4,495 for the month, and the total fired becomes 15,732,500.

"The German 77-millimeter projectile weighs 7 kilograms, or 15.4 pounds, so that the total weight fired was 242,280,500 pounds, or 121,140.25 tons. The computed weight of the heavy artillery ammunition would probably more than double this amount."

It was announced by the British Ministry of Munitions that the British expenditure of shells of the calibre of six inches and upward during the first week of the offensive that opened near Arras on April 9, 1917, was nearly twice that of the first week of the Somme offensive, while the expenditure of such shells during the second week was six and one-half times that of the second week on the Somme.

General Haig's Official Report

Battles on the Ancre From Nov. 18, 1916, to
March 13, 1917

[Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British armies in France, on May 31 submitted his official report to the Secretary of State for War of the operations of the armies under his command during the period following Nov. 18, 1916, which is the end of the preceding report covering the period from May 19, 1916, to Nov. 15, 1916, as printed in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE March, 1917, Pages 1114-1132.]

I.

General Headquarters,
British Armies in France,
May 31, 1917.

My Lord:

I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the British armies in France from the 18th of November, 1916, to the commencement of our present offensive.

Nature of Operations

(1) My plans for the Winter, already decided on at the opening of the period under review, were based on several considerations:

The enemy's strength had been considerably reduced by the severe and protracted struggle on the Somme battlefields, and so far as circumstances and the weather would permit it was most desirable to allow him no respite during the Winter.

With this object, although possibilities were limited by the state of the ground under Winter conditions, I considered it feasible to turn to good account the very favorable situation then existing in the region of the River Ancre as a result of the Somme battle.

Our operations prior to the 18th of November, 1916, had forced the enemy into a very pronounced salient in the area between the Ancre and the Scarpe Valleys, and had obtained for us greatly improved opportunities for observation over this salient. A comparatively short further advance would give us complete possession of the few points south of the Ancre to which the enemy still clung, and would enable us to gain entire command of the spur above Beaumont Hamel. Thereafter the configuration of the ground in the neighborhood of the Ancre Valley was such that every fresh advance would enfilade the enemy's positions and automatically open up to the observation of our troops some new part of his defense. Arrangements could, therefore, be made for sys-

tematic and deliberate attacks to be delivered on selected positions, to gain further observation for ourselves and deprive the enemy of that advantage. By these means the enemy's defenses would be continually outflanked, and we should be enabled to direct our massed artillery fire with such accuracy against his trenches and communications as to make his positions in the Ancre Valley exceedingly costly to maintain.

With the same object in view a number of minor enterprises and raids were planned to be carried out along the whole front of the British armies.

In addition to the operations outlined above, preparations for the resumption of a general offensive in the Spring had to be proceeded with in due course. In this connection, steps had to be taken to overcome the difficulties which a temporary lack of railway facilities would place in the way of completing our task within the allotted time. Provision had also to be made to cope with the effect of Winter conditions upon work and roads, a factor to which the prolonged frost at the commencement of the present year subsequently gave special prominence.

Another very important consideration was the training of the forces under my command. It was highly desirable that during the Winter the troops engaged in the recent prolonged fighting should be given an adequate period out of the line for training, rest, and refitting.

Certain modifications of my program in this respect eventually became necessary. To meet the wishes of our allies in connection with the plan of operations for the Spring of 1917, a gradual extension of the British front southward as far as a point opposite the town of Roye was decided on in January, and was completed without incident of importance by Feb. 26, 1917. This alteration entailed the maintenance by the British forces of an exceptionally active front of 110 miles, including the whole of the Somme battle front, and, combined with the continued activity maintained throughout the Winter, interfered to no small extent with my arrangements for reliefs. The training of the troops had, consequently, to be restricted to such limited opportunities as circumstances from time to time permitted.

The operations on the Ancre, however, as well as the minor enterprises and raids to which reference has been made, were carried out as intended. Besides gaining valuable position and observation by local attacks in the neighborhood of Bouchavesnes, Sailly-Saillisel, and Grandcourt, these raids and

minor enterprises were the means of inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy, and contributed very appreciably to the total of 5,284 prisoners taken from him in the period under review.

The Enemy's Position

(2) At the conclusion of the operations of the 13th of November and following days the enemy still held the whole of the Ancre Valley from Le Transloy to Grandcourt, and his first line of defense lay along the lower northern slopes of the Thiepval Ridge.

North of the Ancre he still held the greater part of the spur above Beaumont Hamel. Beyond that point the original German front line, in which the enemy had established himself two years previously, ran past Serre, Gommecourt, and Monchy-au-Bois to the northern slopes of the main watershed, and then northeast down to the valley of the River Scarpe east of Arras.

Besides the positions held by him on our immediate front, and in addition to the fortified villages of the Ancre Valley with their connecting trenches, the enemy had prepared along the forward crest of the ridge north of the Ancre Valley a strong second system of defense. This consisted of a double line of trenches, heavily wired, and ran northwest from Saillisel past Le Transloy to the Albert-Bapaume road, where it turned west past Gréville and Loupart Wood and then northwest again past Achiet-le-Petit to Bucquoy. This system, which was known as the Le Transloy-Loupart line, both by reason of its situation and as a result of the skill and industry expended in its preparation, constituted an exceedingly strong natural defensive position, second only to that from which the enemy had recently been driven on the Morval-Thiepval Ridge. Parallel to this line, but on the far side of the crest, he had constructed forward the close of the past year a third defensive system on the line Rocquigny, Bapaume, Ablainzeville.

Operations Commenced

(3.) The first object of our operations in the Ancre Valley was to advance our trenches to within assaulting distance of the Le Transloy-Loupart line.

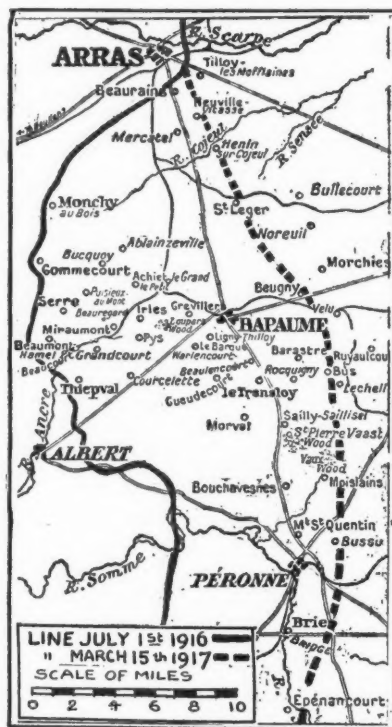
Accordingly, on Nov. 18, 1916, before the rapidly deteriorating condition of the ground had yet made an undertaking on so considerable a scale impossible, an attack was delivered against the next German line of defense, overlooking the villages of Pys and Grandcourt. Valuable positions were gained on a front of about 5,000 yards, while a simultaneous attack north of the Ancre considerably improved the situation of our troops in the Beaucourt Valley.

By this time Winter conditions had set in, and along a great part of our new front movement across the open had become practically impossible. During the remainder of the month, therefore, and throughout December, our energies were principally directed to

the improvement of our own trenches and of roads and communications behind them. At the same time the necessary rearrangement of our artillery was completed, so as to take full advantage of the opportunities afforded by our new positions for concentration of fire.

The Beaumont Hamel Spur

(4.) As soon as active operations again became possible, proceedings were commenced to drive the enemy from the remainder of the



BRITISH ADVANCE DURING THE ANCRE OFFENSIVE

Beaumont Hamel Spur. In January a number of small operations were carried out with this object, resulting in a progressive improvement of our position. Before the end of the month the whole of the high ground north and east of Beaumont Hamel was in our possession, we had pushed across the Beaucourt Valley 1,000 yards north of Beaucourt Village, and had gained a footing on the southern slopes of the spur to the east.

The most important of these attacks was undertaken at dawn on the morning of the 11th of January against a system of hostile trenches extending for some 1,500 yards along the crest of the spur east and northeast of Beaumont Hamel. By 8:30 A. M. all our objectives had been captured, together with over 200 prisoners. That afternoon an enemy counterattack was broken up by our artillery.

Throughout the whole of the month's fighting in this area, in which over 500 German prisoners were taken by us, our casualties were exceedingly light. This satisfactory circumstance can be attributed mainly to the close and skillful co-operation between our infantry and artillery, and to the excellence of our artillery preparation and barrages. These in turn were made possible by the opportunities for accurate observation afforded by the high ground north of Thiepval and by the fine work done by our aircraft.

Grandcourt

(5) Possession of the Beaumont Hamel Spur opened up a new and extensive field of action for our artillery. The whole of the Beaucourt Valley and the western slopes of the spur beyond from opposite Grandcourt to Serre now lay exposed to our fire. Operations were, therefore, at once commenced under the cover of our guns to clear the remainder of the valley south of the Serre Hill, and to push our line forward to the crest of the spur.

On the night of the 3d-4th of February an important German line of defense on the southern slopes of this spur, forming part of the enemy's original second-line system north of the Ancre, was captured by our troops on a front of about three-quarters of a mile. The enemy's resistance was stubborn and hard fighting took place, which lasted throughout the whole of the following day and night. During this period a number of determined counterattacks were beaten off by our infantry or dispersed by our artillery, and by the 5th of February we had gained the whole of our objectives. In this operation, in which the excellence of our artillery co-operation was very marked, we took 176 prisoners and four machine guns.

This success brought our front forward north of the Ancre to a point level with the centre of Grandcourt, and made the enemy's hold on his position in that village and in his more western defenses south of the river very precarious. It was not unexpected, therefore, when on the morning of the 6th of February our patrols reported that the last remaining portion of the old German second-line system south of the river, lying between Grandcourt and Stuff Redoubt, had been evacuated. The abandoned trenches were occupied by our troops the same morning.

Constant reconnaissances were sent out by us to keep touch with the enemy and to ascertain his movements and intentions. Grandcourt itself was next found to be clear of the enemy, and by 10 o'clock on the morning of the 7th of February was also in our possession. That night we carried Baillescourt Farm, about half way between Beaumont and Miraumont, capturing eighty-seven prisoners.

(6) The task of driving the enemy from his position in the Beaucourt Valley was re-

sumed on the night of Feb. 10-11. Our principal attack was directed against some 1,500 yards of a strong line of trenches, the western end of which was already in our possession, lying at the southern foot of the Serre Hill. Our infantry were formed up after dark, and at 8:30 P. M. advanced under our covering artillery barrage. After considerable fighting in the centre and toward the left of our attack, the whole of the trench line which formed our objective was gained, with the exception of two strong points which held out for a few days longer. At 5 A. M. a determined counterattack from the direction of Puisieux-au-Mont was beaten off by our artillery and machine-gun fire. Two other counterattacks on Feb. 11 and a third on Feb. 12 were equally unsuccessful.

The Advance Toward Miraumont

(7) The village of Serre now formed the point of a very pronounced salient, which our further progress along the Ancre Valley would render increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for the enemy to hold. Accordingly, an operation on a somewhat larger scale than anything hitherto attempted since the new year was now undertaken. Its object was to carry our line forward along the spur which runs northward from the main Morval-Thiepval Ridge about Courcellette, and so gain possession of the high ground at its northern extremity. The possession of this high ground, besides commanding the approaches to Pys and Miraumont from the south, would give observation over the upper valley of the Ancre, in which many hostile batteries were situated in positions enabling their fire to be directed for the defense of the Serre sector. At the same time arrangements were made for a smaller attack on the opposite bank of the river, designed to seize a portion of the Sunken Road lying along the eastern crest of the second spur north of the Ancre and so obtain control of the approaches to Miraumont from the west.

Our assault was delivered simultaneously on both banks of the Ancre at 5:45 A. M. on the 17th of February. The night was particularly dark, and thick mist and heavy conditions of the ground produced by the thaw that had just set in added to the difficulties with which our troops had to contend. The enemy was, moreover, on the alert, and commenced a heavy barrage some time before the hour of our assault, while our attacking battalions were still forming up. None the less, our troops advanced to the assault with great gallantry. On the left of our attack our artillery preparation had been assisted by observation from the positions already won on the right bank of the Ancre. In consequence, our infantry were able to make a very considerable advance, and established themselves within a few hundred yards of Petit Miraumont. The right of our attack encountered more serious resistance, but here also valuable progress was made.

North of the Ancre our troops met with complete success. The whole of the position attacked, on a front of about half a mile, was secured without great difficulty, and an enemy counterattack during the morning was easily driven off.

Next day, at 11:30 A. M., the enemy delivered a second counterattack from the north with considerable forces, estimated at two battalions, upon our new positions north of the river. His advancing waves came under the concentrated fire of our artillery and machine guns while still some distance in front of our lines, and were driven back in disorder with exceedingly heavy losses.

Eleven officers and 588 other ranks were taken prisoners by us in these operations.

Miraumont and Serre Evacuated

(8) The ground gained by these two attacks and by minor operations carried out during the succeeding days gave us the observation we desired, as well as complete command over the German artillery positions in the upper Ancre Valley and over his defenses in and around Pys and Miraumont. The constant bombardment by our artillery, combined with the threat of an attack in which his troops would have been at great disadvantage, accordingly decided the enemy to abandon both villages. Our possession of Miraumont, however, gravely endangered the enemy's positions at Serre by opening up for us possibilities of a further advance northward, while the loss of Serre would speedily render Puisieux-au-Mont and Gommecourt equally difficult of defense. There was, therefore, good ground to expect that the evacuation of Pys and Miraumont would shortly be followed by a withdrawal on a more considerable scale. This, in fact, occurred.

On the 24th of February the enemy's positions before Pys, Miraumont, and Serre were found by our patrols to have been evacuated, and were occupied by our troops. Our patrols were then at once pushed forward, supported by strong infantry detachments, and by the evening of the 25th of February the enemy's first system of defense from north of Gueudecourt to west of Serre, and including Luisenhof Farm, Warlencourt-Eaucourt, Pys, Miraumont, Beaugard Dovecot, and Serre, had fallen into our hands. The enemy offered some opposition with machine guns at selected strong points in his line, and his artillery actively shelled the areas from which he had withdrawn; but the measures taken to deal with such tactics proved adequate, and the casualties inflicted on our troops were light.

The enemy's retirement at this juncture was greatly favored by the weather. The prolonged period of exceptional frost, following a wet Autumn, had frozen the ground to a great depth. When the thaw commenced in the third week of February the roads disintegrated by the frost broke up, the sides of trenches fell in, and the area across which

our troops had fought their way forward returned to a condition of slough and quagmire even worse than that of the previous Autumn. On the other hand, the condition of the roads and the surface of the ground behind the enemy steadily improved the further he withdrew from the scene of the fighting. He was also materially assisted by a succession of misty days, which greatly interfered with the work of our airplanes. Over such ground and in such conditions rapid pursuit was impossible. It is greatly to the credit of all ranks concerned that, in spite of all difficulties, constant touch was maintained with the enemy and that timely information was obtained of his movements.

Le Barque and Gommecourt

(9) Resistance of a more serious character was encountered in a strong secondary line of defense which, from a point in the Le Transloy-Loupart line due west of the village of Beaulencourt, crossed in front of Ligny-Thilloy and Le Barque to the southern defenses of Loupart Wood. Between Feb. 25 and March 2 a series of attacks were carried out against this line, and the enemy was gradually driven out of his positions. By the evening of the latter day the whole line of trenches and the villages of Le Barque, Ligny-Thilloy and Thilloy had in turn been captured. One hundred and twenty-eight prisoners and a number of trench mortars and machine guns were taken in this fighting, in the course of which the enemy made several vigorous but unsuccessful counterattacks.

Meanwhile, rapid progress had been made on the remainder of the front of our advance. On Feb. 27 the enemy's rear-guards in Puisieux-au-Mont were driven to their last positions of defense in the neighborhood of the church, and to the north-west of the village our front was extended to within a few hundred yards of Gommecourt. That evening our patrols entered Gommecourt Village and Park, following closely upon the retreating enemy, and by 10 P. M. Gommecourt and its defenses had been occupied. Next morning the capture of Puisieux-au-Mont was completed.

Irls

(10) The enemy had, therefore, been driven back to the Le Transloy-Loupart line, except that he still held the village of Irls, which formed a salient to his position and was linked up to it at Loupart Wood and Achlet-le-Petit by well constructed and well-wired trenches.

Accordingly, our next step was to take Irls, as a preliminary to a larger undertaking against the Le Transloy-Loupart line itself; but before either operation could be attempted exceedingly heavy work had to be done in the improvement of roads and communications, and in bringing forward guns and ammunition. The following week was devoted to these very necessary tasks.

Meanwhile, operations were limited to small enterprises designed to keep in touch with the enemy and to establish forward posts which might assist in the forthcoming attack.

The assault on Irles and its defenses was delivered at 5:25 on the morning of March 10, and was completely successful. The whole of our objectives were captured, and in the village and the surrounding works 289 prisoners were taken, together with sixteen machine guns and four trench mortars. Our casualties were very light, being considerably less than the number of our prisoners.

The Loupart Line

(11) The way was now open for the main operation against the centre of the Le Trans-

loy-Loupart line, which throughout March 11 was heavily shelled by all kinds of our artillery. So effective was this bombardment that during the night of March 12-13 the enemy once more abandoned his positions, and fell back on the parallel system of defenses already referred to on the reverse side of the ridge. Gréville and Loupart Wood were thereupon occupied by our troops, and methodical preparations were at once begun for an attack on the enemy's next line of defense.

[THE SECOND SECTION OF THE REPORT COVERING THE GENERAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE GERMANS TO THE BEGINNING OF THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE APRIL 9, 1917, WILL APPEAR IN THE SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

Burial of German Prisoners

THE Swiss Minister in London, M. Carlin, transmitted to the Foreign Office under date of May 22 the following copy of a Note Verbale of the German Foreign Office, dated May 9:

The Daily Mirror, in their issue of Jan. 8 last, published under the heading "Hun Skeleton for Anatomy Class" a picture showing blind English soldiers receiving instructions in skeleton anatomy.

Beneath the picture was written, "Twelve months ago the skeleton was a living German."

The Foreign Office would be glad if the Swiss Legation would protest strongly to the British Government, pointing out at the same time that in Germany only the skeletons of convicts are made use of for such purposes. The German Government have a right to expect that German prisoners in England should be buried in a manner in accordance with the conceptions of civilized peoples regarding the respect due to the dead. This is still more so in the case of soldiers who, after bravely defending the land of their birth, have died in a foreign country; for the earthly remains of such men even their opponents ought to entertain feelings of sympathy and respect.

The reply of the Foreign Minister, dated June 6, is as follows:

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs presents his compliments to the Swiss Minister, and with reference to Monsieur Carlin's note No. 486 S.G. of May 22, transmitting a Note Verbale from the German Government relative to a photograph published with the description "Hun Skeleton for Anatomy Class," in The Daily Mirror of Jan. 8, 1917, together with the statement "Twelve months ago the skeleton was a living German," has the honor to request that the German Government may be informed as follows:

The German Government's protest is based on an inaccurate statement, as the photograph in question did not, as stated by The Daily Mirror, represent the skeleton of a German soldier, and a contradiction of the statement was published in the edition of the newspaper in question of Jan. 10, 1917, under the heading "Training Blind Soldiers."

The skeleton depicted in the photograph was purchased by the National Institute for the Blind before August, 1914.

The bodies of German prisoners who die when in British hands are invariably buried in a manner which is in full accord with the conceptions of civilized peoples regarding the respect due to the dead.



French Indogenda

German Barbarities in France

Official Report of Illegal Treatment Inflicted Upon Inhabitants in Occupied Territory

The appended report, handed to Premier Ribot by a commission appointed to investigate acts of the enemy in violation of the law of nations, was published by the French Government in the *Journal Officiel* on June 1, 1917. The commission consisted of Georges Payelle, First President of the Court of Accounts; Armand Mollard, Minister Plenipotentiary; Georges Maringer, Counselor of State, and Edmond Paillot, Judge in the Court of Cassation. The complete text of the report has been translated for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

SINCE April 12, [1917,] the date of our previous report, we have pursued our investigations in the portions of France recently freed from enemy occupation, and this further inquiry has only confirmed our conviction that all the violations of international law of which the Germans were guilty at the time of their departure were committed under general orders issued by the Supreme Command. In all the towns the same measures of unjust severity and cruelty toward individuals, the same methods of devastation and brigandage were employed simultaneously and in identical conditions. Everywhere the people were exploited and deported, the factories destroyed, houses demolished or burned, furniture stolen or smashed, trees cut down, wells contaminated, farm implements broken or carried away.

There is not a single locality where inhabitants of both sexes, from sixteen to sixty years of age, were not torn from their homes and sent into Germany or Northern France; sent with no more regard for the grief of their families than for the morality of the young girls thus subjected to the most disquieting dangers. The scenes caused by these deportations were so heartrending that the Germans themselves at times were moved by them. Thus at Nesle, whence 180 women or girls and 164 men were taken away on Feb. 17, 1917, an officer said that he "could not bear to watch their departure, because it was too sad a sight." It is true that all were not so sensitive, as the two following episodes prove:

At Douilly a young woman, who had given birth to a dead infant two days before, was forced to rise from her bed

and depart. As she passed, weeping, before the door of Mme. Wager, the latter, seeing that she was scarcely clothed, threw a shawl over her shoulders to protect her from the cold, and watched her depart with the certainty that the poor unfortunate would never come back.

One day in November, 1915, after the evacuation of a part of the population, a distracted woman came to the Town Hall of Chauny; she was uttering cries of despair and tearing her hair, demanding the return of her daughter, a child of 15 years, who had been sent away she knew not where. The Mayor took her to Reserve Officer Bergschmidt, a Berlin lawyer, the local representative of the Kommandantur; but he drove her away, saying that she annoyed him and was disturbing everybody. Then, turning to the Municipal Magistrate, who was trying to move him, he cried: "Mr. Mayor, you know very well, as I have told you repeatedly, that the words 'pity' and 'humanity' are erased from the dictionary. I want it to be understood that you are not to annoy me further in these matters. That is clear, is it not?"

Slavery of Deported Victims

It would be impossible to overemphasize the profoundly outrageous character of these abominable practices, which are nothing else than the re-establishment, for Germany's profit, of the hardest and most revolting form of slavery. The "Notice Concerning the Columns of Civilian Workers," which was prepared by Column Commander Kugemann, (Form. 5 v. 28. 4. 16. ZAK,) and of which we possess a copy, surpasses anything imaginable in this regard. It contains long instructions, the principal ones being these:

General Considerations

The persons belonging to the column of civilian workers are employed in the construction of roads, in farm labor, and in tasks of other kinds. It is forbidden to make them work in the zone of operations, properly so called.

All workers of said column wear on the part of the left arm (sic) a red armlet firmly sewed on; the armlet contains on the outside a black A, which should be easily visible. Workers whose conduct is bad, or who have been punished for attempts to escape, wear the badge on both arms.

Duties of the Workers

The workers live together in places under guard. In exceptional cases permission to live outside the camp may be granted to aged workers whose conduct is particularly good, or who have voluntarily sought admission into the column of workers.

During their labors, and on the way to and from work, the men are guarded by soldiers. At the command of "Achtung!" ("Attention") given by the soldier in charge, the working gangs must, in passing before the officers, as a mark of respect take off their caps. The work that is ordered must be done with speed and good-will.

In case of insubordination or attempt to escape, the soldiers will, if occasion requires, use their weapons unsparingly.

Payment, Food, and Housing

Every workman receives a daily wage of 2.25 francs, (45 cents,) from which are deducted 1.50 francs for board and 25 centimes for clothes, or a total of 1.75 francs, (35 cents.) Of the remaining 50 centimes, 25 are paid on account, 25 go into the reserve fund. Every ten days each serious workman receives 2.50 francs, (50 cents.)

Those who are placed under arrest receive only bread and water; however, in case of moderate offenses, the complete rations are given every second day, and every third day in case of serious offenses. Workmen must furnish their own clothes, linen, and shoes. The administration undertakes only the mending and renewal of footwear and clothing worn out by work.

Punishments

The civilian workers are warned that in case of infraction of any nature whatever, and particularly when it is a matter of attempted escape, of disobedience, of insubordination, of theft, or deception, they can be punished by the ordinary police—if the German law does not provide heavier penalties—with imprisonment not exceeding three months, or with a fine not exceeding 1,000 marks, (\$250.) In case of an offense against a member of the German Army the delinquent will be tried before the War Council and may be sentenced to death.

Jail sentences, punishments for minor offenses, for serious offenses, prison to the extent of three months, and fines to a maximum amount of 1,000 marks may be inflicted by the local commandant of the place where the workers are housed. The imprisonment must be imposed in such manner that the man shall not be absent from his work, but shall be confined during other than his working hours. Besides, he shall not receive his pay for that period.

Workers whose attitude gives rise to continual complaints may be thrown into a separate section for discipline.

System of Draconian Laws

Thus all these free men, women, and girls, accustomed to family life, whom the Germans have carried away in crowds from the invaded regions in defiance of the most formal rules of international law, are compelled, under a system of pitiless servitude, to perform the hardest kinds of work for the enemy. At the mere will of a commandant the slightest infractions of the Draconian rules are punished with imprisonment that may run to three months, during which the victims, forced to work hard from morning to night, receive, two days out of every three, only a little bread and water as their sole nourishment.

If this is the treatment of the deported, that imposed upon the inhabitants who are not evacuated is scarcely more tolerable. A notable illustration of the fact is found in the following proclamation, which was posted up at Holnon (Aisne) on July 20, 1915:

All workmen and women and children of 15 years are required to labor in the fields every day, including Sunday, from 4 o'clock in the morning until 8 in the evening, (French time.) Recreation, half an hour in the morning, an hour at noon, and half an hour in the afternoon. Disobedience will be punished in the following manner:

1. Lazy workmen will be brought together during the harvest, along with the workmen in barracks, under the inspection of German Corporals. After the harvest the idlers will be imprisoned six months; on every third day the rations shall be only bread and water.

2. Lazy women will be exiled to Holnon to work. After the harvest the women will be imprisoned six months.

3. Idle children will be punished with blows of a stick.

Furthermore, the commandant reserves the right to punish lazy workmen with twenty blows of a stick every day.

The workmen of Vandelles Commune are punished severely.

[Signed] GLOSS,
Colonel and Commandant.

Other Tyrannous Edicts

Innumerable notices posted up by the enemy upon the walls of the invaded communities bear irrefutable witness to the harshness of the yoke that weighed upon our unfortunate fellow-countrymen and to the rigor and continuity of the requisitions levied upon them. In these posters will be found, formulated in the most imperative terms and with threats of punishment, the obligation to salute officers, to go without lights, and to keep all doors open during the night; also edicts forbidding the people to leave their homes at certain hours and orders compelling them to place everything, even to their garden products, at the disposal of the military authorities. One ordinance from General Commandant in Chief von Below, dated Oct. 1, 1915, appears to have been promulgated solely to give a semblance of legality to the most arbitrary executions. It will suffice here to reproduce the measure with which it ends:

In every commune a certain number of notables, whose names will be published, will answer *with their lives* for the safety of the railways in the territory tributary to the commune. Besides, every community in the territory belonging to a railway line that has been damaged or destroyed shall pay a contribution or suffer other punishment. In certain circumstances the whole town can be evacuated, the men taken to the prison camp and the rest of the population scattered to other localities.

These were not vain threats. On the remnant of a placard, the upper part of which has not been found—the whole was posted up at Amigny-Rouy (Aisne)—appears this notice:

5. Leon Oudard, farmer and Mayor of Floignes, because he did not immediately notify the nearest German authorities of the known presence of enemy soldiers.

In accordance with the sentence, the condemned were shot on the 3d of August, [or April,] 1916, at 5:45 o'clock in the morning. [Here follows the mention of seven persons condemned to terms of imprisonment or reclusion.]

Because in the communes of La Vallée and Floignes a large proportion of the inhabitants doubtless had knowledge of the criminal conduct of the persons above named, one-

half of all the men of the communes of La Vallée and of Floignes are, besides, incorporated for the duration of the war in a section of workers.

[Signed] V. BOCKELBERG.

Wringing Money From Cities

Officer Bergschmidt told the Mayor of Chauny that the words pity and humanity were to be expunged from the dictionary. These, alas! are not the only expressions that have been eliminated from the German vocabulary. It is the same with all those which represent any idea of generosity or simple honesty, and the mind would refuse to admit, if not compelled by the evidence, that the army of a civilized nation could be guilty of such a frenzy of theft and fury of destruction. In all the invaded regions and during the whole period of occupation the municipalities have been scandalously exploited and the goods of private individuals continually pillaged.

In the beginning Nesle was struck with a forced contribution of 13,000 francs, and in the interval, before the sum could be produced, M. Obry, the assistant who was fulfilling the functions of Mayor, with two members of the Council and an owner of property, were imprisoned in a cellar for six hours. Later the city had to pay 3,000 francs because a few old suits of armor were found in an abandoned house, and 30,000 as the penalty for the discovery of three shotguns—for game—in the home of one of the residents.

In March, 1915, the authorities seized a great quantity of wheat at Nesle, which had been stored up in reserve for the needs of the population, and then compelled the Mayor to buy flour from them for cash. In the same year, after having exacted the expenditure of 6,896 francs for tilling and seeding, they seized the whole crop, and it was necessary to buy back a part of it to feed the horses. The municipality was compelled, besides, to enter into a consortium for the issuance of regional bonds. This measure was quite general, as we indicated in our previous report, and at Réthonvillers, where it was not put into effect rapidly enough to suit the German authorities, an officer announced that if within an

hour the City Council did not meet and submit to the bond issue, the Mayor, the notables of the town, and their families would be arrested immediately and deported to Germany.

Looting and Destroying

At the end of their stay in Nesle the Germans, who had already indulged in many acts of pillage, finished the dismantling of the houses and carried on particularly fruitful operations in those occupied by the superior and general officers. In the church they carried away the pipes of the great organs, and after having broken the bells by throwing them out of the belfry they carried away the pieces. Dr. Braillon, 60 years old, who for four months had spent himself in caring for the enemy wounded, was arrested and transferred to Germany under a gross pretext. His wife had to give lodgings to the General Staff and the secretaries of the central telephone service. Before their departure her guests sacked the house, breaking the marbles and furniture, the windows and mirrors, ripping up the upholstered seats with a knife, cutting down ninety pear trees and as many feet of vines in the garden, and contaminating the well with manure. This task was attended to by the cook, the chauffeur, and the orderlies of the officers, with the aid of the secretaries. When Mme. Braillon protested against the destruction of the roofs of small buildings belonging to her home, a Lieutenant contented himself with replying: "It is the order!"

Everywhere, as we have many times repeated, incessant depredations were committed cynically. The number of broken safes that we have seen in the course of our investigations is unprecedented, and we have also found proof that the enemy had no scruples against theft, even from individuals. Many persons, in fact, were robbed of objects of value and of securities and cash which they carried on their persons. At Vraignes, notably, the Germans on the eve of departure searched many inhabitants of the neighboring villages after they had been herded into farmhouses and stables. They did the same at Tincourt,

where Mme. Vancopenolle, after having been ordered to undress, saw them carry away a rente bond representing 1,500 francs.

A Characteristic Theft

An old man at Roisel, M. Villain, was ruined by an important theft committed in characteristic circumstances. On March 4, at the time of the final evacuation of the inhabitants, he had been compelled to remain with the baker who furnished bread for the soldiers. At that time he owned 150,000 francs [\$30,000] in securities, and the enemy authorities knew it. On March 15 M. Villain was informed that he was wanted at the kommandantur. He went there and had to wait a long time; finally he was told that the chief could not receive him. When he got back to the bakery he found that the valise which contained his fortune, and which he had hidden under the covers of his bed, had disappeared.

He had noticed for several days that the Germans, as he said, had been hovering around his securities. Several times the secretaries of the kommandantur had come under thin pretexts to his quarters, and on the evening before the theft, after the departure of one who had stopped a considerable time near the door of the house, it was seen that the key of that door had been carried away. As early as the end of February an officer of the pioneers, calling at M. Villain's house, had laid hands upon the linen, the plate, and various other objects, and had sent them all, carefully wrapped, to the railway station. The owner was well aware that the most timid protest would have been not only useless but dangerous. A workman in Roisel, who had broken one of his own chairs in order not to see it carried away, had been imprisoned, and Mme. Boinet, for having expressed herself in a rather lively manner at the moment when they were taking away her piano, had been condemned to prison and to pay a fine of 200 marks.

In many places the commandants used still more summary methods to mulct the inhabitants and those driven from their homes. They simply ordered them to come and deposit their valuables. They

used this method notably at Mesnil-Saint-Nicaise and at Voyennes, where there were many victims; at Rouy-le-Petit, where the enemy gathered in 330,000 francs in securities; at Offoy, where the people had the prudence not to deliver any but insignificant papers, and at Nesle, where the Mayor flatly refused to transmit the order.

It is not without interest to add that at Vraignes and Nesle the Germans appropriated a part of the provisions furnished by the Spanish-American Food Commission.

Vast Destruction of Houses

In our report of April 12 we mentioned the total destruction of cities and villages by means of fire and explosives. We have found an appalling number of further cases of this sort. The method was applied in a systematic and general manner, and scarcely any place was spared except certain towns to which the enemy sent the populations from other localities; even there, sometimes, the Germans, on retiring, took pleasure in cannonading the unfortunates whom they had themselves assigned to those places. We have already told of the bombardment of Brouage, a suburb of Chauny; Rouy-le-Petit, where people from Douchy, Omissy, Matigny, Morcourt, Sancourt, and Viller-Saint-Christophe were herded together, suffered the same fate. On March 18, when the last unit had departed, the German artillery fired on the village before any allied soldier could reach there. Three persons were wounded; a little girl, a woman, and a man were killed.

Out of thirty-seven towns and villages in the Canton of Roye only three remain—Roye, Erchue, and Moyencourt; all the others were burned. In the Canton of Nesle sixteen communes were burned; Nesle, Languevoisin, Rouy-le-Grand, Rouy-le-Petit, and Mesnil-Saint-Nicaise alone escaped the devastation. Finally, in the Canton of Ham, out of twenty-one towns there remain only Ham, Estouilly, Saint-Sulpice, and Eppeville. As we indicated above, the localities spared were places of asylum for the last inhabitants of the villages condemned to the flames.

As for the remnants of the population

in the Arrondissement of Péronne, the Germans gathered a part of them at Tincourt, at Vraignes, and at Bouvincourt, in a pitiable state of misery. Of the other inhabitants not a trace remains, but it seems already to be certain, from investigations which we are making, that as long ago as 1914 these people were the victims of frightful atrocities. At Vraignes two sections were burned, despite the presence of a great number of persons evacuated from the surrounding region. Many of these unfortunates, while houses were blazing around them, saw the illumination made by the flames of their own villages in the distance. The Germans had said, on the eve of their departure, to residents of Monchy-Lagache: "Look in the direction of Monchy tomorrow!" And the next day, indeed, Monchy was in flames.

Trying to Ruin the Region

Even in the places where the residences were not all annihilated, the enemy tried, with all the means in his power, to ruin the country; and everywhere he ravaged the factories. At Bernes and Hervilly, adjoining towns, there were two important sugar factories, one belonging to M. Busignies, the other to M. Carpeza. The soldiers blew up the buildings of both, having first pillaged them. All the destruction of property, moreover, was executed with implacable minuteness. In order to demolish houses the Germans first made excavations or cut long, narrow channels into the walls, intended to promote the crumbling of the building when the mine exploded. They did this at Roisel and Péronne.

This latter city was left in a lamentable condition. After the furniture had been carried away or broken, a great number of houses were blown up. Among the ruins we found slashed mattresses, bolsters that had been slit from end to end, baby carriages and sewing machines that had been deliberately smashed, cupboards that had been broken in, and safes, notably those of the Bank of France, which were shattered and empty. On one of the walls of the City Hall, which is almost entirely destroyed, was displayed a large wooden panel on which

was painted in large letters the inscription, "Nicht ärgern, nur wundern!" (Don't be annoyed, only astonished!) and we have seen and photographed an unexploded bomb fixed to a beam in the fallen roof of the monument; to the bomb were still attached the strings intended to set it off.

At Nesle, after compelling the residents of the suburbs to go into the middle of the town, the troops demolished the empty houses with axes. They also destroyed the gas factory, the Lesaffre distillery, the Evence Coppé factory for chemical products, and the Tabary malt-house.

At Offoy, two days before the retreat, they consigned all that remained of the population to one part of the village, with orders not to stir outside until after forty-eight hours. Then they blew up and set fire to the vacated quarter.

Belated Explosions

Bapaume has been completely devastated, and on March 25, at 11:30 in the evening, an explosion, certainly produced by a bomb with retarded action, blew the City Hall to pieces and caused the death of two members of Parliament, Messrs. Briquet and Tailliandier, Deputies from the Pas-de-Calais, who had installed themselves in that edifice for the night. This catastrophe at Bapaume is not the only one that has taken place since the departure of the enemy, for the latter, before turning back, sowed in the country which he was compelled to surrender a number of deadly snares set as well for the civilian population as for the allied soldiers. It was thus that the churches in Sapignies and Béthancourt were blown up, the first on the 18th, the second on the 22d of April, that is to say, more than a month after the German retreat.

The measures intended to destroy the fruit trees and render useless the wells have been generalized in all the regions we have visited. At Rouy-le-Petit the Germans, after trying to make the inhabitants themselves contaminate their wells with manure, compelled the children to do it. At Berne some time in February two soldiers, accompanied by

a petty officer, who called himself an architect, came to Mrs. Payen and asked whether she had provided herself with water, warning her that they were going to stop up the cistern with manure. One of the men added: "It is unfortunate to be obliged to do this." At Mesnil-Saint-Nicaise a German said to Mme. Wager, pointing to the well on the farm where she was interned after leaving Douilly: "Nicht drink! Colics!"

Text of Official Orders

The General Staff of the British Fifth Army has come into possession of an order given by the German commandant of outposts on March 14, 1917, in which this sentence occurs: "The detachment of the Sixth Cuirassiers will see to it that manure in sufficient quantities is placed in the wells." Another document entitled "Order Relating to Destruction," and bearing at the top the words "Streng geheim" (strictly secret) has also been communicated to us. We quote from Chapter III:

The commandant of outposts will direct the destruction of the various localities. The final and complete destruction of Grévillers, Biefvillers, Aubin, and Avesnes will begin at the hour of X+2. To provide the detachments for setting fire to houses each commandant in the sector will furnish two sub-officers and twenty men from the B battalions, and two stretcher bearers with litters. The destruction of Favreuil, Beugnatre, and Frémicourt will begin on the second day of the retirement at the hour of X+3. The destruction of Morchies will be executed in the morning of the third day of the retirement, at about 5 o'clock. * * * The destruction of Louverval, Boursies, Demicourt will begin on the third day of the retirement. For these operations the commandant of pioneers will arrange with the commandant of outposts of Division S, Sector III, Major von Uechtritz, at Doignies, in such manner that all the details of destruction not carried out under orders of the commandant of outposts shall be executed later by Division S.

The lighting of the incendiary fires shall be executed under command of the officers by the different detachments. The destruction of all wells is important.

TIEDE (F. d. R.)

BAESSLER, Oberleutnant.

Through a dispatch emanating from the German Legation at Berne, Germany attempted, in view of the indignation aroused throughout the world by these latest crimes of her armies, to promul-

gate the idea that "the measures regretfully adopted by the commanders were limited to strict military necessities and had no other object than the defense and safety of their troops." In support of this statement Germany cited an Order of the Day, said to have been issued in the following terms on March 11, 1917, by a division General "operating in the region of Bapaume," and bearing no other signature than the initials V. O.:

The acts of destruction now in progress in the abandoned territory are intended to wipe out all war materials that would be useful to the enemy, the trees, and all structures in so far as they might serve the enemy artillery for a covering. Everything over and above this military aim should be avoided. I request all persons intrusted with this work to keep close watch and see that nothing is destroyed except what enters into this program, and to spare particularly the trees and plants around cemeteries and in gardens of little elevation, also all crosses.

If this Order of the Day is not apocryphal, it simply proves that among the enemy Generals there was one less brutal and inhuman than the others. In any case, it must be admitted that his orders were very poorly carried out.

At the Bar of Nations

The German Government appears to regard military interest as an excuse for everything; but is it not precisely to prevent those abuses for which this interest would be the pretext that there exists a public international law, and that conventions, which Germany herself has formally indorsed, have been enacted by the civilized nations? Was it, furthermore, in behalf of military interest that the enemy burned villages situated far from the highways, where their destruction could not retard the march of a pursuing force; that citizens and their wives and children were reduced to servitude; that their goods were stolen, their furniture destroyed, their wells poisoned, their farming implements broken, and fruit trees cut down or girdled by thousands so as to kill them slowly where they stand?

The truth is that the German High Command intended, in a mood of anger and hatred, to terrorize a defenseless population. Such was the mentality of

the chief officers from the beginning, and such it has remained. The deposition made before us by M. Fabre, President of the Chamber in the Paris Court of Appeals, gave us a striking proof of this. That Magistrate found himself with his family at Lassigny, county seat of the canton which he represents in the General Council of the Oise, when the first troops of General von Kluck arrived there. From Aug. 31, 1914, his property was occupied by officers of the General Staff. A superior officer, who spoke French well, at that time summoned him, as well as Mme. Fabre and the rest of the household, and said:

"You do not know the news, but I am going to tell it to you. You are beaten everywhere—in Alsace, in the east, in the north, at St. Quentin; your friends the Russians are annihilated; the British fleet no longer exists, the English troops are scattered. We are the masters. We mean to wipe France off the map. It must disappear. In three days we shall be at Paris; we shall take it; we shall carry away all its wealth, artistic and commercial; we shall pillage and devastate it; nothing but ashes and ruins will remain. Paris must no longer exist."

This harangue, which was to be repeated a few hours later, certainly reflected the thought of the great chief. When General von Kluck arrived, a little later, he was furious at finding the town almost deserted. In the presence of M. and Mme. Fabre he uttered terrible imprecations. "Curses upon the inhabitants who have left their homes!" he cried. "This village shall be punished; everything shall be pillaged, destroyed; nothing shall remain. We will it. Woe, woe to this wretched population!"

The Looting of Lassigny

These threats were soon to be put into effect. The next day, Sept. 1, 144 motor trucks arrived; the men in them scattered themselves through the town and gave it over to pillage; they carried off everything of any value, packed and crated the objects, placed them in the trucks, and ranged the vehicles in a row after having tilted them. All afternoon

there was an orgy of confusion; the horde killed the animals in the farmyards, shook the fruits from the trees, and carried into the public square great heaps of provisions. To cook their food and entertain themselves with bonfires they burned all the furniture that they disdained to carry away. Soldiers dressed out in old French uniforms or women's clothes paraded the streets, shouting, under the complacent eyes of officers.

After such scenes, how can one believe in the so-called humanitarian intentions of the enemy command, or in the scruples trumped up by the news dispatch from the Berne Legation? According to the text already cited, this Order of the Day pretended especially to direct the sparing of trees and plants around cemeteries; but it failed to order the soldiers to respect the graves themselves, for the sacred dwelling places of the dead have been many times violated. To the horrors of this nature related in our previous report, unhappily, many others must be added. The cemetery at Péronne was shamefully ravaged, and many tombs were profaned. At Hervilly five vaults were ransacked, and the altar in the funereal monument of the Paux family was broken. At Cartigny the Germans opened five vaults, each with a chapel above it, by tearing apart the stones. They did the same thing at Ronsoy, at Becquincourt, at Dompierre, at Bouvincourt, and at Herbécourt. At Nurly, Roisel, Bernes, they even broke

into coffins. In the inclosed ground serving as a private cemetery for the Rohan family at Manancourt they buried a great number of their soldiers, and, an inconceivable thing, established a kitchen in the interior of the Rohan mausoleum and latrines among their family tombs. In the crypt, where indescribable disorder reigns, almost all the compartments are empty. A child's coffin, taken from one of them, was stripped of its lead. A heavy leaden casket, half drawn from another compartment, bears on its lid marks of a chisel. A block of marble, in which is seen a small excavation, has been thrown among the debris; it bears the inscription: "Here rests the heart of Mme. Amélie de Musnier de Folleville, Countess of Boissy, who died at Paris, July 16, 1830, at the age of 32 years and 10 months."

To what motive should these monstrous profanations be attributed? Did the enemy hope to find valuables or gold placed by the families under the protection of the dead, or jewels in the coffins? It is noteworthy that the sepulchres of the rich suffered especially. Whatever the reason, the repetition of the same acts in so many cemeteries gives ground for affirming that the German chiefs at least tolerated these crimes, if they did not order them.

G. PAYELLE, President.
ARMAND MOLLARD.
G. MARINGER.
PAILLOT, Secretary.

The Resurrection of Devastated France

Fruit Trees Saved by Surgery

THREE months after the French armies had taken back from the Germans 1,000 square kilometers of French soil, blasted and devastated, they had worked such marvels in restoring the fields and orchards that press correspondents devoted enthusiastic articles to the transformation. One of these, an American, looking on the brighter side of the picture, wrote in the last week of May, 1917:

"To a person who passed through this district the day after the German hordes had departed, and who passes there today, the change almost exceeds human belief. It presents a miracle that only the genius of the French race and its painstaking industry could have performed. Nothing has been done to restore the ruined towns, villages, and farmhouses, but these now stand in the midst of fields of waving grain and blossoming

orchards. * * * One has the startling impression that those thousands of hewn-down trees have all grown up again. A close examination, however, shows what has really happened. The French soldiers, working under direction of the French Generals, who know other things than mere military operations, have found the means of saving a large proportion of the trees."

This miracle was worked especially upon those trees which the Germans had intended to destroy by cutting off a circle of bark around the trunk. With a few days' exposure to the sun, that treatment was sufficient to kill thousands of peach, plum, apple, apricot, and cherry trees that had been half a century attaining their full productiveness. These were saved by prompt "first aid." The wounds were merely bound up like the wounds of a soldier. The American correspondent already quoted has described the process:

"Thousands of army Surgeons and Red Cross ambulance drivers and stretcher carriers assisted in this work, so like, in many respects, their own. The circle where the bark had been cut away was first covered with a special grafting cement, and the entire wound then carefully bandaged up—often with the same bandages that had been prepared for human limbs.

"So great was the number of trees that had to be dressed in this way that the entire available supply of grafting preparation was quickly exhausted. Tar was then used as a substitute, and, finally, loamy clay. Substitutes for surgical bandages also had to be found, and in the end it was discovered that moss, twisted and tied about the dressed wound, was as effective as anything else.

"A much more serious problem, of course, presented itself where the trees had been entirely cut or sawed down. But here French genius also solved the problem. The stumps, protruding usually two or three feet from the ground, were first trimmed off in a scientific manner, so as to conserve the sap and prevent the death of the roots. This stump was then treated with grafting paste, and carefully bandaged, till the cut-down tree, lying

at the side, budded from the sap and life that remained in it. Branches that showed great numbers of buds and other signs of exceptional vitality were then cut off and finally grafted into the carefully prepared stump. Today these grafts are in full leaf and blossom; the roots appear to have been entirely saved by this process. Years have been saved in restoring the cut-down orchards of France."

A more conservative view is presented by an English correspondent, who estimates that in the territory recovered by a single French army the Germans had felled over 32,000 fruit trees. After stating that some of these have been saved by the methods indicated, he adds: "Unhappily, in the immense majority of cases, German malice has proved effective." The actual extent of the tree-rescue work lies somewhere between these two views.

Of the lands devastated by the Germans between Noyon and the Somme the zone covered by the French Army alone contained 243 evacuated villages and hamlets, not counting the communes recovered in the Soissons district or those in the British zone. The pursuing French Army found here a wretched population of 35,000 old men and women, mothers of large families, and children under 15. Twelve thousand, for whom it was impossible to find food or shelter, were removed to the interior of France, while the remainder stayed in their ruined villages and are endeavoring to restore life and prosperity to what had been one of the richest agricultural districts of France. Aided by the French Army and by American, French, and British civilians, they achieved wonders in the few weeks that still remained for planting and sowing.

The situation was that 250,000 acres of agricultural land which had once kept the whole region in prosperity had been neither plowed nor sown. There was one small exception. About 1 per cent. of the land had been sown with rye in September and October, before the enemy had fully made up his mind to retire. The work began at the end of March, and in less than two months over 6,000

acres had been plowed and over 3,500 acres sown. No draught animals of any kind had been left behind by the enemy, and almost all the agricultural implements had either been carried off or destroyed. The army, however, could supply horses, and miracles of ingenuity were displayed by the French officers in repairing and improvising the indispensable machines.

The French military authorities organized the whole project with wisdom and efficiency. First they concentrated their energies upon the vegetable gardens, and these were soon flourishing throughout the district, later giving large yields of potatoes, strawberries, and vegetables—enough to carry the local population until Winter. The army based its system on that adopted in the reconquered territory of Alsace. The recovered zone was divided into seven sectors, each under the command of a Lieutenant Colonel or Major. Each officer had under his orders a permanent staff, which included an agricultural expert, an architect, and about forty military engineers. This military organization is still working hand in hand with the civil organization, headed in each town by the Mayor, or, if he has been carried off by the Germans, then by a municipal councilor, who acts as intermediary between the army and the people. The results achieved have been surprising.

The first step was to supply food for the people, and this was done through the army commissariat. Horses for plowing were lent by the army, broken plows and harrows were repaired by motor mechanics of the army, seeds of all kinds were procured, and thirty American tractors found lying idle in a depot were put to work. Soldiers joined the meagre peasant contingent of laborers and toiled early and late to sow, cultivate, and gather the crops, counting all as part of their service for beloved France.

In the meantime houses are being repaired where possible, and temporary buildings erected where no habitation exists. Schools have been opened, military doctors attend the sick, a postal service has begun, and so far as possible life is being made endurable for the

thousands who suffered so much during the German occupation and virtually lost everything they possessed when the invaders departed.

The State, in providing the peasants with their immediate necessities as concerns seeds, animals, implements, and the like, has adopted the following system: One-fifth of the cost price is to be paid down by the beneficiary, while the remainder is to be set against the indemnity that he is to receive from the State as compensation for the damage that he has suffered through the war. On this principle army horses still capable of work in the fields, though past war work, are being sold in the district. Brood mares also are being sent there on certain conditions. In addition to State aid, the inhabitants are being helped by French, English, and American subscriptions. Baron Henri de Rothschild has centralized a part of the work and founded a store that has rendered invaluable services by supplying gratuitously all necessities.

Midsummer of 1917 finds at least a beginning made in the vast task of rebuilding the ruined towns, partly with American aid. Noyon has been "adopted" by the City of Washington and is being rebuilt by contributions from the people of that city. The American Fund for French Wounded has taken full charge of the hamlet of Behericourt, and the Comtesse de Chabrannes has undertaken to rebuild the hamlet of Maucourt, which the enemy reduced to a desolate heap of bricks and stones. The vastness of the task that remains, however, is indicated by the fact that fully a hundred towns and villages were as thoroughly destroyed as Maucourt.

In the picturesque mountain region of the Vosges is the village of Vitrimont, an earlier victim of German destructiveness, which Mrs. Crocker of California has chosen for a similar work of resurrection. Being too infirm to go abroad herself, she sent Miss Daisy Polk with an ample fund to rebuild a ruined town in the region designated. Miss Polk chose Vitrimont, a village in Lorraine that had been reduced to a mass of blackened stones during the fighting around Nancy.

The place was a desert when she began, but soon she found herself at the head of a small army of eager villagers, mostly old men and young women, who undertook the heaviest tasks of house building under her leadership. The Préfet of the department came and solemnly laid the first stone of the new village. Already a church and rows of attractive two-story houses have risen under the American magic. In an illustrated article on the subject in *Les Annales* an enthusiastic French writer says:

"The construction of Vitrimont constitutes an experience which deserves to found a school. The architect of the de-

partment, who is directing the work, intends to make of Vitrimont a model village. Houses, farms, public buildings, are being erected according to a plan which gives them a logical grouping.

"Mme. Crocker has devoted a first appropriation of \$20,000 to the resurrection of Vitrimont. Her ingenious charity seeks to avoid the form of alms and to render a real service. Half of her gift will remain the property of the commune, the other half is to be returned to her in annuities from the war indemnity which Vitrimont will receive when the imitators of the Huns will be compelled to pay for breakage."

Two Years Under the Germans

A Villager's Diary

SAVY is a little village three miles southwest of St. Quentin. A resident of Savy kept a diary throughout the years of German occupation, a simple document, such as any villager might write, but presenting a unique and truthful picture of what the people suffered under the heel of the invader. A correspondent of *The London Times*, writing from France, has summarized its contents in an interesting article.

The diary begins with occasional entries recording the outbreak of the war, the passing of English soldiers, and then, on Aug. 28, 1914, the news comes that the Germans are at St. Quentin. "At Savy nobody would believe it. However, it was only too true." The next day the first Germans appeared in Savy itself. They celebrated the day by looting a baker's shop and taking possession of the local tavern and drinking all the liquor.

Then began the real occupation, with continual and increasing requisitions, plunderings, limitations of the liberty of the residents, and punishments for minor offenses. People were fined or imprisoned for going out of the village into the wood without permission, for hiding oats or food in their houses or gardens, for not saluting German officers or not saluting properly, for giving oats to a

horse to eat, for plowing a field without permission, for resisting German soldiers who came to loot furniture without authority, for giving coffee to a French prisoner of war, and (the Mayor himself being the culprit in this case) for selling potatoes contrary to orders. When a man was imprisoned he got off his sentence after a few days by paying money.

Meanwhile, constant thieving went on by German soldiers, especially from out-houses, barns, &c., which the villagers, being obliged to be indoors after dusk, were powerless to prevent. Houses were looted and barns stripped of planks and whatever odds and ends seemed worth taking.

Then notice was formally posted giving the German soldiers the right to go into any garden and take vegetables as they pleased.

Besides money tribute, requisitions were made for innumerable articles, such as oats, corn, clover, eggs, potatoes, beans, straw, blankets, boards, tools, and especially wine, which was hunted for in every cellar and hiding place and drunk. Besides firearms, bicycles and blankets had to be given up. Individual houses were plundered of chairs, beds, stoves, bottles, casks, and so forth. Censuses were made at one time and another of

agricultural implements, fruit trees, fowls, wheelbarrows, all bronze articles, and sheep, besides horses, asses, and mules, of which the three last were all first vaccinated and then commandeered by installments. So with cows. By November, 1916, only three cows were left in Savy to give milk to the children and invalids, and on Feb. 9, 1917, even these last three were taken.

A census was taken of all walnut trees, then all were cut down and the wood carted away. The Germans sheared all the sheep and similarly sent away the wool. Russian prisoners were set to break up the stones of the local mill to prevent illicit grinding. People were forbidden to go into the wood to gather fuel, or glean in the harvest fields, or to set traps for game. Notices ordered all the people to be ready to work in the fields from 4 in the morning to 8 in the evening. Children were made to weed the crops. As the corn and oats were reaped the Germans took charge of it all. The people were ordered to pick all the fruit and turn it over to the authorities. Finally, all copper articles, including the bells of the church and the school, were taken off to Germany.

We hear of the brutal abusing of old men of 80 by German soldiers and of men being beaten with sticks for trivial offenses. Thus:

At the general census of horses at Holnon, the owners had to stand for six hours at their horses' heads. Henri Catry happened to be standing two yards away from his horse. A gendarme demanded "Is that your horse?" Henri replied, "Yes," and was beaten with a stick. When he protested, "Don't hit so hard," he was beaten even more severely. There was one, an old man, who was lying down in front of his horse. He was severely beaten by a gendarme. M. Datchy of Holnon saw an old man who had hardly strength to walk. Two Germans hit him continually with their sticks. The other communes were treated in the same brutal manner.

These random quotations, says the cor-

respondent, can give little of the impression created by reading the whole document, but they suffice to show the régime under which the people lived, a régime which grew steadily more severe. Then came the beginning of the end.

On June 29, 1916, we read: "Commencement of the German offensive, according to some; of the English offensive, according to others. For the last ten days at least there has been uninterrupted bombardment." For some days the bombardment continued, then on July 3 it ceased: "All is quite quiet." Though the people in Savy knew nothing of it, the British had made their great attack and were slowly at work breaking the German power on the slopes of the ridge toward Contalmaison and Mametz.

In November the Germans began to fill in the wells under the pretense that they were no longer wholesome, to destroy empty houses, and to carry all sorts of goods away. Just before Christmas the destruction of the fruit trees commenced and went on through the January frosts, when the Germans also pulled down the temporary huts which they had built for camp purposes. On Feb. 10 the Curé, doubtless with a hint of what was coming, turned over the sacred objects and vessels from the church to the Germans for safe keeping.

And then comes the last entry in the diary: "There is a rumor current that soon we are all going to be evacuated from our homes." They were evacuated to certain villages where the residents of the country round were concentrated before the Germans began in earnest their work of devastation, and by the middle of March the great retreat was in full swing. When the British reached the site of Savy in the early days of April the village was no more than a litter of dust and broken bricks. The torch and high explosives had done their work well before the Germans left the town.



Von Bissing's Plan to Annex Belgium

Pan-German Program Revealed

THE late Governor General of Belgium, Baron von Bissing, left at his death an extraordinary "political testament," which has finally reached the outside world through the columns of the *Hamburger Nachrichten* and the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*. As a frank and insistent statement of the Junker demand for the annexation of Belgium it must rank among the historic documents bearing upon the war aims of the Central Powers.

It begins with a long argument about the dire necessity and sacred duty of Germany to annex Belgium, insisting especially upon the military requirements of "the next war" and the value of the Belgian coal mines. Baron von Bissing protests against any thought of Germany's accepting "the Meuse line" and the fortresses of Liège and Namur, because the German frontier "must reach the sea." Coming to details, he reveals in the following passage the real intent underlying the talk about "the liberation of the Flemings":

We have among the Flemings many open, and very many still undeclared, friends, who are ready to join the great circle of German world interests. That will also be very important for the future policy of Holland. But, as soon as we remove our protecting hand, the Flemish movement will be branded by the Walloons and the Frenchlings (Französlinge) as pro-German, and will be completely suppressed. We must do everything without delay to repress boundless hopes on the part of the Flemings. Some of them dream of an independent State of Flanders, with a King to govern it, and of complete separation. It is true that we must protect the Flemish movement, but never must we lend a hand to make the Flemings completely independent. The Flemings, with their antagonistic attitude to the Walloons, will, as a Germanic tribe, constitute a strengthening of Germanism. But if we abandon part of Belgium, or if we make a part of it, such as the territory of Flanders, into an independent Flemish State, we are not only creating for ourselves considerable difficulties, but we are depriving ourselves of the considerable advantages and aids which can be afforded us only by Belgium as a whole and under German administration. If only on account of the necessary bases for our fleet, and in order not to cut off Ant-

werp from the Belgian trade area, it is necessary to have the adjacent hinterland.

Thus at the conclusion of peace we shall find opportunity after a century to make good the mistakes of the Vienna Congress. In 1871, by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which Prussia even at the time of the Vienna Congress wanted to claim for herself, repaired the first of these mistakes. It is our business now to put aside reluctance and ideas of reconciliation, and not to fall into new mistakes.

Baron von Bissing goes on to argue that the annexation of Belgium is the only means of obtaining "the necessary respect" from England, and of saving the Germans from being regarded all over the world as weaklings. He says that it is also the only means of repairing the prestige of German diplomacy. He then deals with alleged German anxieties as to the danger of incorporating non-German territory, and proceeds to the following conclusions:

There is no prospect that we shall ever be able to conclude with the King of the Belgians and his Government a peace by which Belgium will remain in the German sphere of power, and it is impossible that the Quadruple Entente, over the heads of its allies, shall ever accept our peace demands with regard to Belgium. It only remains for us, therefore, to avoid during the peace negotiations all discussion about the form of the annexation and to apply nothing but the right of conquest.

It is true that dynastic considerations have an importance which is not to be underestimated. For, in view of our just and ruthless procedure, the King of the Belgians will be deposed, and will remain abroad as an aggrieved enemy. We must put up with that, and it is to be regarded almost as a happy circumstance that necessity compels us to leave dynastic considerations entirely out of account. A King will never voluntarily hand over his country to the conqueror, and Belgium's King can never consent to abandon his sovereignty or to allow it to be restricted. If he did so his prestige would be so undermined that he would have to be regarded not as a support, but as an obstacle, to German interests. On the most various occasions the English have described the right of conquest as the healthiest and simplest kind of right, and we can read in Machiavelli that he who desires to take possession of a country will be compelled to remove the King or Regent, even by killing him.

These are grave decisions, but they must be taken, for we are concerned with the welfare and the future of Germany, and concerned also with reparation for the war of destruction that has been directed against us.

Finally, Baron von Bissing demands that Belgium shall be kept under the present dictatorship after the peace, and discusses the comparative values of Belgium and the Belgian Congo. He says:

For years to come we must maintain the existing state of dictatorship. It is the only form of administration, based as it is upon military resources, which can be chosen, in order to gain time for the gradual and methodical building up of the most appropriate possible administration. The completion of the annexation will be regarded by many Flemings and by a great part of the Walloons as a release from uncertainty and from vain hopes. Both races will return to the life that will be rendered possible by renewed opportunities for trade and pleasure. The Walloons can, and must, decide, during this period of transition, whether they will adapt themselves to the definitely altered state of affairs, or whether they prefer to leave Belgium. He who remains in the country must declare his allegiance to Germany, and, after a fixed time, must declare his adoption of Germanism. * * *

Half measures and a middle course must be condemned most of all. Lack of determination in the decisive days of German fate will be a grave wrong to the blood that has been shed. Among such half measures I include the intention of treating Belgium merely as a pawn which might be used to recover or extend our colonial possessions. As regards the extension of our colonial possessions, the Belgian Congo comes especially into question. The possession of the Belgian Congo is certainly to be aimed at, and I desire to insist that a German colonial empire, whatever its shape, is indispensable for Germany's world policy and expansion of power. But, on the other hand, I am of the opinion that only such frontiers as will contribute to the acquisition of greater freedom on the sea are calculated to make colonial

possessions valuable. Consequently the supporters of the colonial movement must also demand the Belgian coast, together with the Belgian hinterland. If we give up the Belgian coast our fleet will lack important bases for its share in the protection of our colonial empire.

Vorwärts, the Berlin Socialist organ, published in May, 1917, an interchange of letters between Baron Gebtsattel, a Pan-Germanist leader, and Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg. On May 5 the Baron wrote to the Chancellor on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Pan-Germanist League protesting against the Government's too narrow view of the way in which the results of certain victory should be utilized. The Baron said that the soldiers might even overturn the monarchy itself if they returned from the war and found that all possible gains from their sacrifices had not been secured by the Government.

The Chancellor replied on May 13 with a letter in which he said:

Only after the complete defeat of all the enemies of Germany will the time be ripe for considering the Pan-Germanist war aims. For the moment, the interests of the country forbid a closer examination of these aims. The league has rendered great service to Germany by developing national sentiment and combating the idealism of those who dreamed of a fraternity of nations, but it is grotesquely lacking in political judgment.

The Chancellor added that the Baron's allusion to a possible revolution, if it had any foundation, was a condemnation of those who were stirring up a dangerous spirit among the people, and, if it had no foundation, then it was a threat betraying the desires of those who were using it to subjugate to their own will the responsible counselors chosen by the Kaiser.



Battle's Grim Realities at Ginchy

An Irish Officer's Realistic Account of One Day's Awful Experiences

Second Lieutenant Arthur C. Young of the Seventh Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers, a volunteer from Kobe, Japan, took part in the storming of Ginchy on the Somme front, Sept. 9, 1916, and wrote the subjoined letter to a relative in London shortly afterward. This remarkable narrative is here presented in its entirety, with the exception of a few personal references.

THE storming of Ginchy took place on Saturday last, Sept. 9. It had been taken once or twice before, I believe, (some say four times,) but even out here it is so difficult to get authentic news about things which are happening quite close to us that you will have to make allowances for my possible inaccuracies. Each time, however, it was recaptured by the Germans, for to them it was a most important stronghold, particularly from their artillery's point of view. A gunner officer told me why this was. You must remember that artillery fire is not very effective unless there is good observation, for atmospheric conditions affect shooting considerably. Now, the best sort of observation is that obtained from high ground in a forward position—it is better even than airplane or balloon observation, so I am told. Well, Ginchy was the last bit of high ground which the Germans held, and now that they have lost it, they are dependent on their less certain aerial observation, or, failing that, they must shoot by the map, which is no better than guesswork. Hence the vital importance to the Germans of Ginchy.

Try and picture in your mind's eye a fairly broad valley running more or less north and south. You must imagine that the Germans are somewhere over the further, or southern, crest. You are looking across the valley from the ruins of Guillemont. About half-right the further crest rises to a height crowned by a mass of wreckage and tangled trees. Well, that is Ginchy. The valley narrows somewhat and bends round this way to the right of Ginchy. Then it bends back again to its original line of direction,

and goes on, goodness knows where. At that point another valley branches off at right angles to the left, or southward, and leads up to Combles, which the French are investing.

At the point of the peninsula between this valley and that other one is Falfemont Farm, which is now in our possession, for we have driven the Germans well back along the flat top of the peninsula to some place beyond Leuze Wood, which is on the right of Ginchy as we face it from Guillemont. You can see the trees sticking up on the skyline. Now, if you look the other way, half-left, you will see the ruins of Delville Wood, which seems to start almost at the bottom of the broad valley and to go over the top of the slope beyond. Well, we hold that place too. In fact, we hold all the ground which you can see in front of you, except Ginchy, and that is what the Irish division is now going to storm at the point of the bayonet, if you have the patience to follow me.

I have conjured up some kind of scene in your mind—a framework, anyway. Now, to complete it, you must imagine that every square yard of ground, in front, behind, wherever you look, is churned up as if by some monster plow until barely one blade of green is left. Think what Hampstead Heath would look like if it were dug up in all directions into pits about ten feet deep and fifteen feet across—and you will have framed an image (I'm afraid a faint one only) of the awful scene of desolation which your eyes have to dwell upon for days at a time on the battlefield of the Somme.

Seeking a Habitable Trench

On the night previous to the taking of Ginchy my battalion had to take up a

position on the further slope of the valley. We were some distance in rear at the time, where the shells did not fall so plentifully. We had had nearly a week of it already, and a more horrible five days I have never passed in my life. We had been over the top from Falfemont Farm on the Tuesday, and had been thanked for our services in a special divisional order, but the price we had to pay for that feat of arms was a big one, as the casualty list printed by this time only too well shows.

I was sent out to find a habitable trench for my company. I found one near the spot indicated on the map. We moved in there at dusk. There is no proceeding to your sector through a long communication trench at the Somme. You just go over the top, skirting shell holes all the way. Nor is there any "taking over" in the sense in which that term is used in the more civilized regions further north, where the officer of the relieving company finds out the exact delimitations of his frontage, and takes an inventory of all stock in the way of ammunition, bombs, stores, &c. You don't do things on those lines here. The relieving company comes up at an unexpected hour, the commander reports himself to you, and asks you all sorts of questions which you answer to the best of your ability, and then you get your men together and make off, hell for leather. And the trenches are nothing like the elaborate affairs you meet with in the more settled parts of the line. They are just ditches and nothing else. There are no dugouts or shelters or fire bays or anything of that sort. Then, again, you don't always relieve another regiment in the same trench. You may prefer to go on a little bit in search of a more suitable one.

Driven Out by the Dead

Well, as I have just said, we moved into our trench north of Guillemont at dusk. We faced half-right, as it were, looking up the slope toward Ginchy. It was like being near the foot of Parliament Hill, with the village on top. Our right flank was down near the bottom of the valley; our left extended up to

the higher ground toward the ruins of Waterlot Farm. The trench was very shallow in places, where it had been knocked in by shellfire. I had chosen it as the only one suitable in the neighborhood, but it was a horrible place.



SCENE OF THE FIGHT FOR GINCHY

British dead were lying about everywhere. Our men had to give up digging in some places, because they came down to bodies which were buried there when the parapet blew in. The smell turned us sick. At last in desperation I went out to look for another trench, for I felt sure the Germans must have the range of the trench we were in, and that they would give us hell when dawn broke. To my joy I found that a very deep trench some distance back had just been vacated by another regiment, so we went in there.

The night was bitterly cold. I have felt hunger and thirst and fatigue out here to a degree I have never experienced them before, but those torments I can endure far better than I thought I could. But the cold—my word! It is dreadful. I suppose life in the Far East does not harden one's constitution against that torture. Many a night have I slept out in the open, in narrow, wet trenches, with the rain pouring down, and almost groaned with the agony of cold. If two can huddle together, you can get some

warmth, but the trenches are frequently too narrow for that. I think I feel the cold more than any one.

However, dawn broke at last. It was very misty. All night we had been trying to get into touch with the unit on our left, but without success. So the Captain sent me out with an orderly to see whether I could manage it. We two stumbled along, but the mist was so dense we could see nothing. We came to one trench after another, but not a living thing could we see—nothing but dead, British and German, some of them mangled beyond recognition. Bombs and rifles and equipment were lying all over the place, with here and there a great-coat, khaki or gray according to the nationality of their one-time owners, but of living beings we could see no sign whatsoever. There was a horrible stench in places which nearly turned our stomachs.

A Dangerous Reconnaissance

To make matters more wretched, we could not make sure of our direction, and were afraid of running into a German patrol, or even into a German trench, for such accidents are by no means uncommon in this region. However, we managed to find our way back and report that up to such and such a point on the map (approximately) there was no one on our left. The Captain was not content with this, so I went out again, this time with another officer. Having a compass on this second occasion, I felt far more self-confidence, and to our mutual satisfaction we discovered that the unit on our left was the right flank of an English division. Captain — was very bucked when we brought back this information. As the mist continued for some time afterward, we were able to light fires and make breakfast.

Now, I have forgotten to tell you that we were in reserve. The front line was some five or six hundred yards higher up the slope nearer Ginchy. We knew that a big attack was coming off that day, but did not think we should be called upon to take part. Accordingly, we settled down for the day, and most of the men slept. I felt quite at home, as I sat in the bottom of the deep trench, reading the papers I

had received the previous day from England. I went through The Times and was much interested in its Japan Supplement, for the memories it brought back of many happy days in Dai Nippon were vivid ones. I also read The Nation from cover to cover. At Falfemont Farm I had picked up a good copy of Burns's "Poems" in the Everyman Series, so I read "The Cottar's Saturday Night" and some other pieces. Mentally, in fact, I was living in quite another world, and it was only the occasional "cr-r-r-rump" of a Boche shell which brought me back to my senses and to the hideous reality of things.

"Over the Top"

It was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon when we first learned that we should have to take part in the attack on Ginchy. Now, you probably expect me to say at this point in my narrative that my heart leaped with joy at the news and that the men gave three rousing cheers, for that's the sort of thing you read in the papers. Well, I had been over the top once already that week, and knew what it was to see men dropping dead all around me, to see men blown to bits, to see men writhing in pain, to see men running round and round, gibbering, raving mad. Can you wonder, therefore, that I felt a sort of sickening dread of the horrors which I knew we should all have to go through? How the others felt I don't exactly know, but I don't think I am far wrong when I say that their emotions were not far different from mine. You read no end of twaddle in the papers at home about the spirit in which men go into action. You might almost think they reveled in the horror and the agony of it all. I saw one account of the battle of Ginchy in which the correspondent spoke of the men of a certain regiment in reserve as "almost crying with rage" because they couldn't take part in the show. All I can say is that I should like to see such superhuman beings. It is rubbish like this which makes thousands of people in England think that war is great sport. As a famous Yankee General said, "War is hell," and you have only got to be in the Somme one single day to know it. The man who says he

loves being in a charge is a liar, and an adjective liar at that.

But to get on with the story. We were ordered to move up into the front line to reinforce the Royal Irish Rifles. None of us knew for a certainty whether we were going over the top or not, but everything seemed to point that way. Guides were sent down by the Rifles to lead us up. We wended our way up slowly, keeping as much as possible to the trenches, which were so shallow that the deepest part of them did not conceal more than our waists, but they were something to duck into if we heard a shell coming. The bombardment was now intense. Our shells bursting in the village of Ginchy made it belch forth smoke like a volcano. The German shells were bursting on the slope in front of us. The noise was deafening. I turned to my servant O'Brein, who has always been a cheery, optimistic soul, and said, "Well, O'Brien, how do you think we'll fare?" and his answer was for once not encouraging. "We'll never come out alive, Sir!" was his reply. Happily, we both came out alive, but I never thought we should at the time.

Real Picture of a Charge

It was at this moment, just as we were debouching on to the scragged front line of trench, that we beheld a scene which stirred and thrilled us to the bottommost depths of our souls. The great charge of the Irish division had begun, and we had come up in the nick of time. Mere words must fail to convey anything like a true picture of the scene, but it is burned into the memory of all those who were there and saw it. Let me employ once more the simile of Parliament Hill. You are more than half way up it now. The flat top, where the village lies a heap of ruins, surrounded by a fence of shattered trees, is about 400 yards away. Between the outer fringe of Ginchy and the front line of our own trenches is No Man's Land—a wilderness of pits, so close together that you could ride astraddle the partitions between any two of them. As you look half-right, obliquely along No Man's Land, you behold a great host of yellow-coated men rise out of the earth and surge forward and upward in a tor-

rent—not in extended order, as you might expect, but in one mass—I almost said a compact mass. The only way I can describe the scene is to ask you to picture five or six columns of men marching up hill in fours, with about a hundred yards between each column. Now, conceive those columns being gradually disorganized, some men going off to the right and others to the left to avoid shell holes. There seems to be no end to them. Just when you think the flood is subsiding, another wave comes surging up the beach toward Ginchy.

We joined in on the left. There was no time for us any more than the others to get into extended order. We formed another stream converging on the others at the summit. By this time we were all wildly excited. Our shouts and yells alone must have struck terror into the Germans, who were firing their machine guns down the slope. But there was no wavering in the Irish host. We couldn't run. We advanced at a steady walking pace, stumbling here and there, but going ever onward and upward. That numbing dread had now left me completely. Like the others, I was intoxicated with the glory of it all. I can remember shouting and bawling to the men of my platoon, who were only too eager to go on. The German barrage had now been opened in earnest, and shells were falling here, there, and everywhere in No Man's Land. They were mostly dropping on our right, but they were coming nearer and nearer, as if a screen were being drawn across our front. I knew that it was a case of "now or never" and stumbled on feverishly. We managed to get through the barrage in the nick of time, for it closed behind us, and after that we had no shells to fear in front of us.

A Psychological Note

I mention, merely as an interesting fact in psychology, how in a crisis of this sort one's mental faculties are sharpened. Instinct told us when the shells were coming gradually closer to crouch down in the holes until they had passed. Acquired knowledge on the other hand—the knowledge instilled into one by lectures and books, (of which I have only read one, namely, Haking's "Company Training,")

—told us that it was safer in the long run to push ahead before the enemy got the range, and it was acquired knowledge that won. And here's another observation I should like to make by the way: I remember reading somewhere, I think it was in a book by Winston Churchill, that of the battle of Omdurman the writer could recollect nothing in the way of noise; he had an acute visual recollection of all that went on about him, but his aural recollection was nil; he could only recall the scene as if it were a cinematograph picture. Curiously, this was my own experience at Ginchy. The din must have been deafening, (I learned afterward that it could be heard miles away,) yet I have only a confused remembrance of it. Shells, which at any other time would have scared me out of my wits, I never so much as heard—not even when they were bursting quite close to me. One landed in the midst of a bunch of men about seventy yards away on my right; I have a most vivid recollection of seeing a tremendous burst of clay and earth go shooting up into the air—yes, and even parts of human bodies—and that when the smoke cleared away there was nothing left. I shall never forget that horrifying spectacle as long as I live, but I shall remember it as a sight only, for I can associate no sound with it.

Capture of the Trenches

How long we were in crossing No Man's Land I don't know. It could not have been more than five minutes, yet it seemed much longer. We were now well up to the Boche. We had to clamber over all manner of obstacles—fallen trees, beams, great mounds of brick and rubble—in fact, over the ruins of Ginchy. It seems like a nightmare to me now. I remember seeing comrades falling round me. My sense of hearing returned, for I became conscious of a new sound, namely, the pop, pop, pop of machine guns and the continuous crackling of rifle fire. I remember men lying in shell holes holding out their arms and beseeching water. I remember men crawling about and coughing up blood, as they searched round for some place in which they could shelter until help could reach them. By this time all units were mixed up. But they

were all Irishmen. They were cheering and cheering and cheering like mad. It was hell let loose. There was a machine gun playing on us near by, and we all made for it.

At this moment we caught our first sight of the Germans. They were in a trench of sorts, which ran in and out among the ruins. Some of them had their hands up. Others were kneeling and holding their arms out to us. Still others were running up and down the trench distractedly as if they didn't know which way to go, but as we got close they went down on their knees, too. To the everlasting good name of the Irish soldiery, not one of these Germans, some of whom had been engaged in slaughtering our men up to the very last moment, was killed. I did not see a single instance of a prisoner being shot or bayoneted. When you remember that our men were now worked up to a frenzy of excitement, this crowning act of mercy to their foes is surely to their eternal credit. They could feel pity even in their rage.

Only Two Officers Left

By this time we had penetrated the German front line, and were on the flat ground where the village once stood, surrounded by a wood of fairly high trees. There was no holding the men back. They rushed through Ginchy, driving the Germans before them. The German dead were lying everywhere, some of them having been frightfully mangled by our shellfire. As I was clambering out of the front trench, I felt a sudden stab in my right thigh. I thought I had got a "blighty," [a wound serious enough to send him back to Britain,] but found it was only a graze from a bullet, and so went on.

I managed to find my men without difficulty. They had rushed through the ruins of the village and were almost a hundred yards beyond the wood, where the ground dips down slightly into a shallow valley and mounts up gradually to a ridge about half a mile away. We were facing south here, having Delville Wood away to our left and Leuze Wood on our right. — and I were the only two officers left in the company, so it was up to us to take charge. There

were not more than half a dozen officers in this part of the line, and so we had a great deal of work to do. We could see the Germans hopping over the distant ridge like rabbits, and we had some difficulty in preventing our men from chasing them, for we had orders not to go too far.

We got them—Irish Fusiliers, Inniskillings, and Dublins—to dig in by linking up the shell craters, and though the men were tired, (some wanted to smoke and others to make tea,) they worked with a will, and before long we had got a pretty decent trench outlined.

Scenes Among Prisoners

While we were at work a number of Germans who had stopped behind, and were hiding in shell holes, commenced a bombing attack on our right. But they did not keep it up long, for they hoisted a white flag, (a handkerchief tied to a rifle,) as a sign of surrender. I should think we must have made about twenty prisoners. They were very frightened. Some of them bunked into a sunken road or cutting which ran straight out from the wood in a southerly direction, and huddled together, with hands upraised. They began to empty their pockets and hand out souvenirs—watches, compasses, cigars, penknives—to their captors, and even wanted to shake hands with us! There was no other officer about at the moment, so I had to find an escort to take the prisoners down. Among the prisoners was a tall, distinguished-looking man, and I asked him in my broken German whether he was an officer. "Ja! mein Herr!" was the answer I got. "Sprechen sie English?" "Ja!" "Good," I said, thankful that I didn't have to rack my brains for any more German words; "please tell your men that no harm will come to them if they follow you quietly." He turned round and addressed his men, who seemed to be very grateful that we were not going to kill them! I must say the officer behaved with real soldierly dignity, and, not to be outdone in politeness, I treated him with the same respect that he showed me. I gave him an escort for himself and told off three or four men for the remainder. I could not but rather admire his bearing, for he

did not show anything like the terror that his men did.

I heard afterward that when Captain —'s company rushed a trench more to our right, round the corner of the wood, a German officer surrendered in great style. He stood to attention, gave a clinking salute, and said in perfect English, "Sir, myself, this other officer, and ten men are your prisoners." Captain — said, "Right you are, old chap!" and they shook hands, the prisoners being led away immediately. So you see there are certain amenities which are observed even on the bloodiest of battlefields. I believe our prisoners were all Bavarians, who are better mannered from all accounts than the Prussians. They could thank their stars they had Irish chivalry to deal with.

There were a great many German dead and wounded in the sunken road. One of them was an officer. He was lying at the entrance to a dugout. He was waving his arms about. I went over and spoke to him. He could talk a little English. All he could say was, "Comrade, I die, I die." I asked him where he was hit and he said in the stomach. It was impossible to move him, for our stretcher bearers had not yet come up, so I got my servant to look for an overcoat to throw over him, as he was suffering terribly from the cold. Whether or not he survived the night I do not know.

After the Battle

Our line was now extended across the sunken road and beyond the corner of the wood to our right. Darkness was coming on. Airplanes were hovering overhead, and shortly afterward our shells began to form a barrage in front. The Germans had evidently rallied, for we could see a long line of them coming up on our right, evidently from the direction of Leuze Wood. Our machine guns opened fire. The counterattack was hung up, but the Germans must have dug themselves in for the night, for in the morning they gave us a good deal of trouble.

I could go on in this strain for a long time, but will cut the rest of the story short, for you must be weary of it. As briefly as possible, then, after the coun-

terattack had subsided, I was ordered to take my men and join up with the rest of the battalion on our right. There we spent the night in a trench. We must have been facing south. It was a miserable night we passed, for we were all very cold and thirsty. We had to keep digging. When morning broke it was very misty. We expected to be relieved at 2 in the morning, but the relief did not come till noon. Never shall I forget those hours of suspense. We were all hungry. The only food we could get was German black bread, which we picked up all over the place; also German tinned sausages and bully-beef. We had to lift up some of the dead to get at these things. Some of them had water bottles full of cold coffee, which we drank.

We all craved a smoke. Fortunately, the German haversacks were pretty well stocked with cigarettes and cigars. I got a handful of cigars off a dead German, and smoked them all morning. Also a tin of cigarettes. His chocolates also came in handy. Poor devil, he must have been a cheery soul when living, for he had a photograph of himself in his pocket, in a group with his wife and two children, and the picture made him look a jolly old sport. And here he was dead, with both legs missing! The trench (between ours and the wood) was stacked with dead. It was full of *débris*—bombs, shovels, and what not—and torn books, magazines, and newspapers. I came across a copy of Schiller's "*Wallenstein*."

Treatment of Wounded Germans

Hearing moans as I went along the trench, I looked into a shelter or hole dug in the side and found a young German. He could not move, as his legs were broken. He begged me to get him some water, so I hunted round and found a flask of cold coffee, which I held to his lips. He kept saying "*Danke, Kamerad, danke, danke.*" However much you may hate the Germans when you are fighting them, you can only feel pity for them when you see them lying helpless and wounded on the ground. I saw this man afterward on his way to the dressing station. About ten yards further on was another German, minus a leg. He, too,

craved water, but I could get him none, though I looked everywhere. Our men were very good to the German wounded. An Irishman's heart melts very soon. In fact, kindness and compassion for the wounded, our own and the enemy's, is about the only decent thing I have seen in war. It is not at all uncommon to see a British and German soldier side by side in the same shell hole nursing each other as best they can and placidly smoking cigarettes. A poor wounded German who hobbled into our trench in the morning, his face badly mutilated by a bullet—he whimpered and moaned as piteously as a child—was bound up by one of our officers, who took off his coat and set to work in earnest. Another German, whose legs were hit, was carried in by our men and put into a shell hole for safety, where he lay awaiting the stretcher bearers when we left. It is with a sense of pride that I can write this of our soldiers.

There was a counterattack on our left in the morning, and for a few minutes the machine guns were very active, but the Germans were beaten off. At last we were relieved, and made our way back, behind Guilleumont, to be taken out of the line. We spent one night in a camp and next day came on here. I am writing this in a picturesque French village. You can see green fields and trees and stacks of corn and cattle when you look through the window. Here, at all events, "grim-visaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front." I am not alone in hoping that we shall not have to go back to that hellish place.

Well, now, that's the story of the great Irish charge at Ginchy, so far as I can tell it. I suppose by this time the great event has been forgotten by the English public. But it will never be forgotten by those who took part in it, for it is an event we shall remember with pride to the end of our days.

Need I tell you how proud we officers and men are of the Royal Irish Fusiliers who played as big a part as any in the storming of that stronghold, and who went into action shouting their old battle cry of "*Faugh-a-Ballagh*"—"Clear the way!"

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

The World Moves Slowly



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

“And still it moves”—as Galileo said—and in the end it will crush those who tried to seize it.

[English Cartoon]

The Old Love and the New



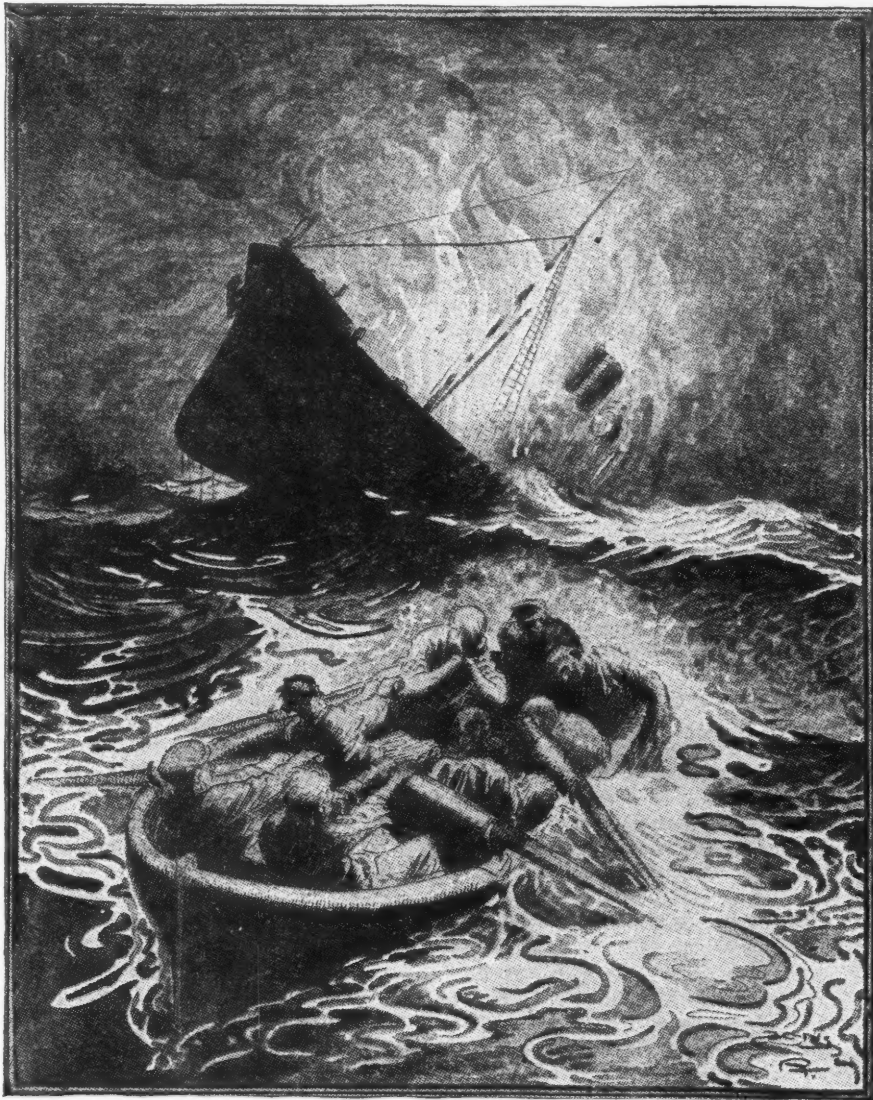
—From Cassell's Saturday Journal.

MISS U-BOAT: "Will you love me as much three months later?"

WILLIAM (sotto voce): "I wonder!"

[Norwegian Cartoon]

U-Boat Morality



—From Hvepsen, Christiania.

“We are champions of the freedom of the seas.”—German Claim.

[German Cartoon]

Britain and the U-Boats

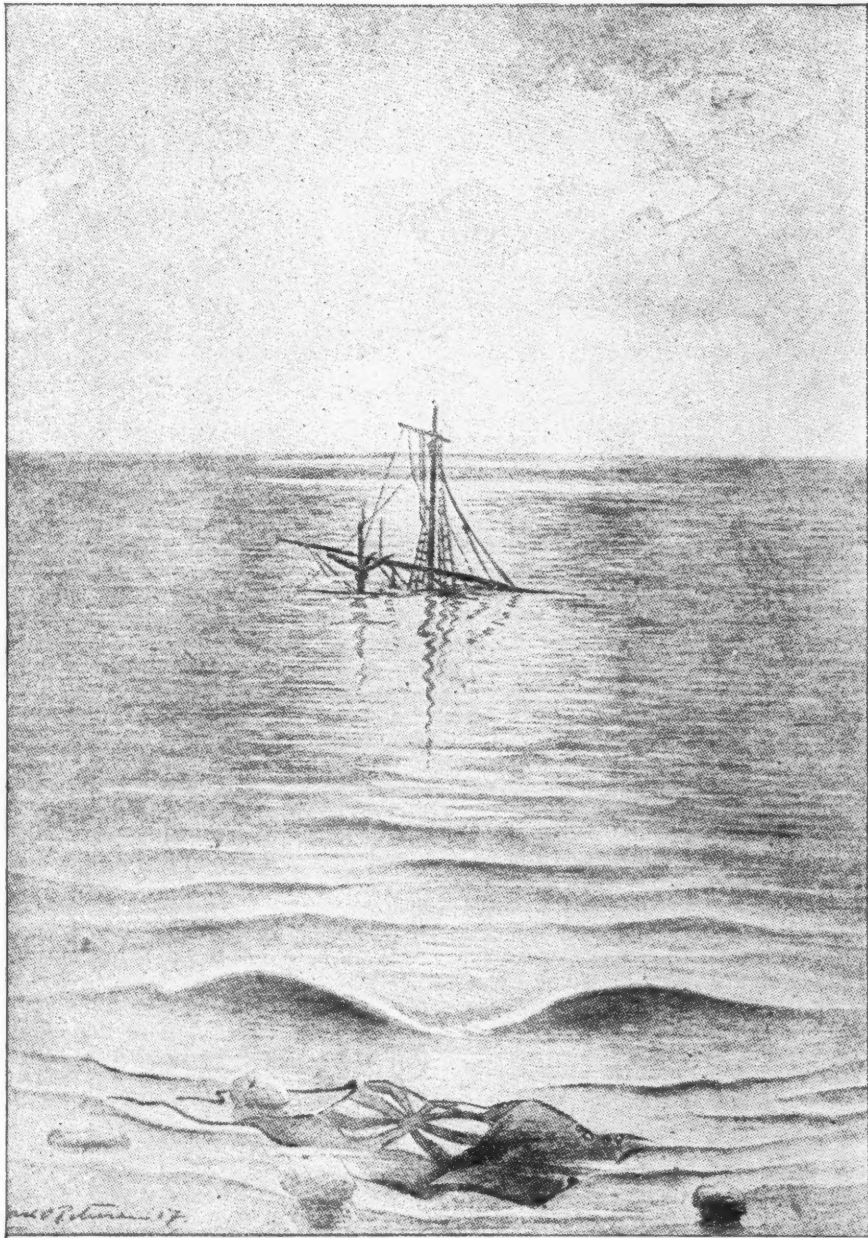


—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

RULER OF THE WAVES: "I will break Germany! I will smash Germany!
I will . . . !!!"

[German Cartoon]

"Still Lies the Sea!"



—From *Lustige Blaetter*, Berlin.

[A German dream which is a long way from fulfillment.]

[English Cartoons]
A Naval Discovery



—From The Sunday Evening Telegram, London.

FATHER NEPTUNE (to John Bull and Brother Jonathan): "Well, boys, it's taken over a hundred years and Armageddon to convince you that my seas are intended not to divide, but to bring you together."

The Hope of the Family



—From The News of the World, London.

THE WOEFUL WARRIOR: "He is our last hope, Willie dear, and he's sinking fast!"

[American Cartoon]

Getting Hotter Every Minute



—From The New York Times.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The German Note to Spain



—From Iberia, Barcelona.

GERMANY (to Spain): "Bless you, my dear, you are the only one who has stood by me. You shall be rewarded afterward."

[English Cartoon]

The Junk Sale at Stockholm



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

AUCTIONEER BETHMANN (to Russia): "Going! Going! this wonderful peace masterpiece. Just the thing for a democratic art lover's parlor!"

[French Cartoon]
Blind Leaders of the Blind



In due time they will fall into the ditch.
[Figures, right to left: Hindenburg, Kaiser Wilhelm, Crown Prince, Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Charles of Austria, Mohammed V. of Turkey.]
—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

[Dutch Cartoon]
The Stockholm Conference



—From *De Notenkraaker*, Amsterdam.

[English Cartoon]
St. George and the Pacifist



—From *The London Evening News*.

PEACE CRANK: "Before you go on with this conflict you must give me your word that you will do nothing really injurious to the dragon."

[German Cartoon]

Germany's Clever Retreat



—From *Kladderdatsch*, Berlin.

BRITISH TOMMY: "Where are those confounded Germans?"

[French Cartoon]

In the Torture Chamber at Nuremberg

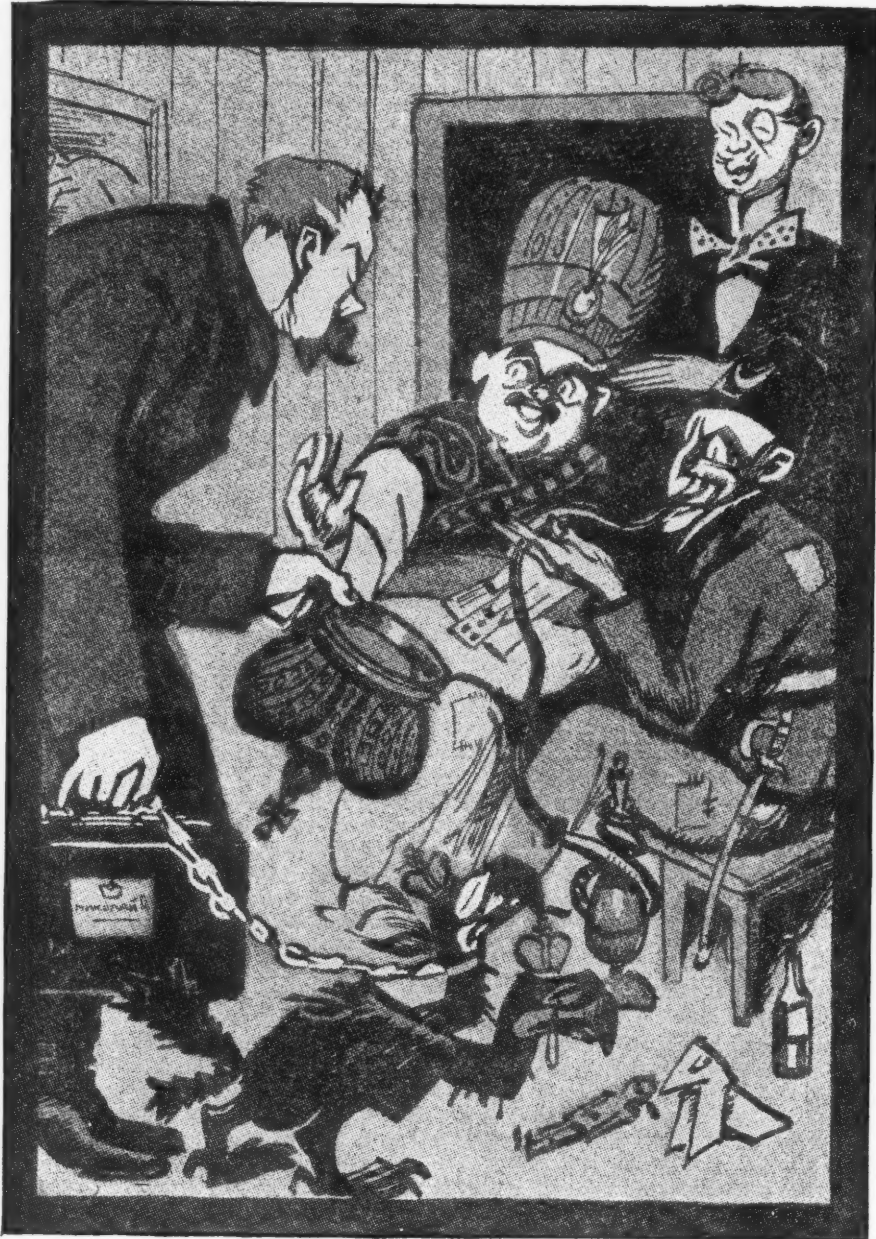


—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

GERMAN MOTHER: "All these instruments, my boy, will be useful after our victory—with the aid of the good old God."

[Russian Cartoon]

Company for Nicholas

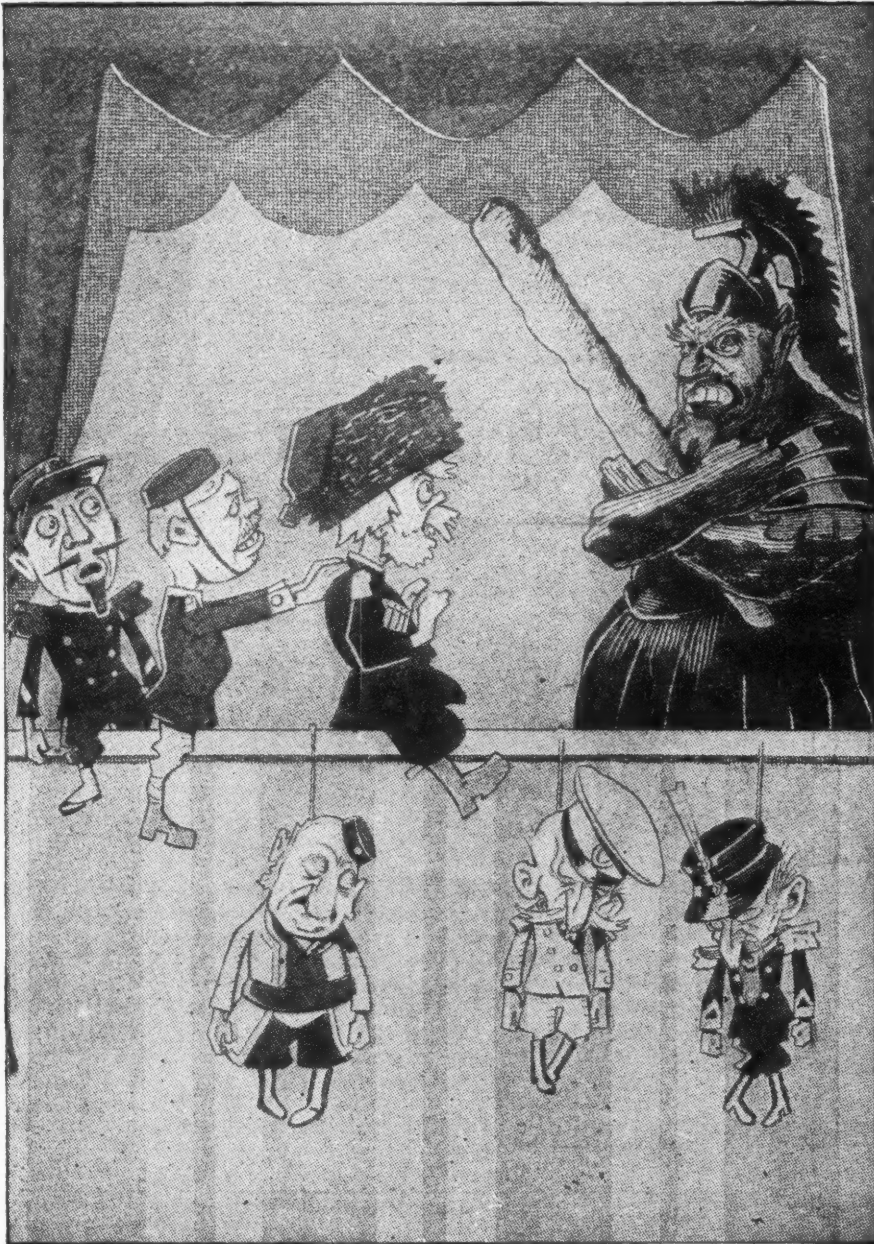


—From *Novi Satiricon*, Petrograd.

“Ha, ha! Here is a fourth partner. Now we can play whist!”
[The other three are the ex-Shah of Persia, ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey, and ex-King Manuel of Portugal.]

[German Cartoon]

Wartime Punch and Judy

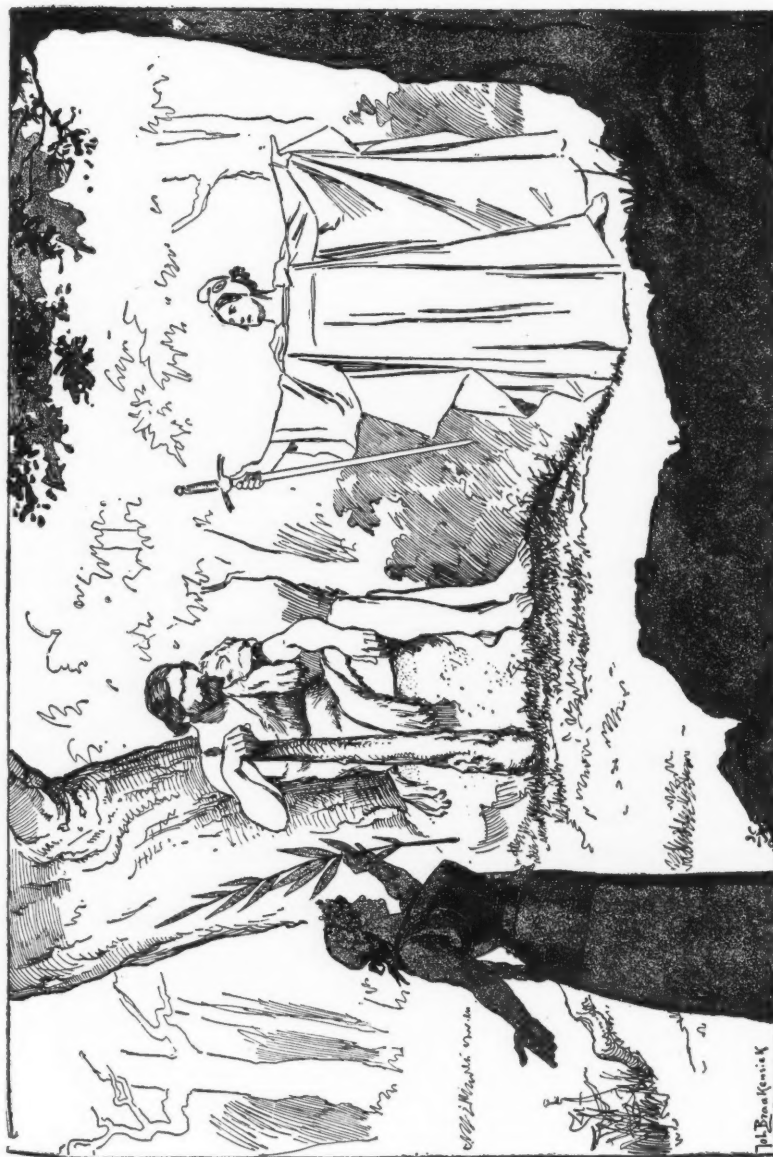


—From *Der Brummer*, Berlin.

MARS: "Whose turn next?"
BRITAIN: "Please, Sir, take Ivan next!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Choice of Hercules



—From *De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam*.
The Russian Hercules is at the parting of the ways. Which will he choose?

[Dutch Cartoon]

A Difficult Problem



—From *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

PEACE ANGEL: "I don't see where I can ever get hold of it."

[American Cartoons]

Russia's Answer



—Duluth Herald.

"Oh, Say, Can You See?"



—Knoxville Journal and Tribune.

"— and Greece!"



—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The Middleman



—Mobile Register.

Find the Producer and the Consumer.

[American Cartoons]

A Late Spring



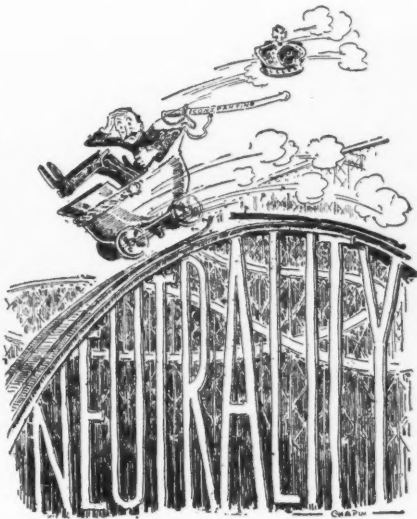
—Mobile Register.

Blind the Enemy!



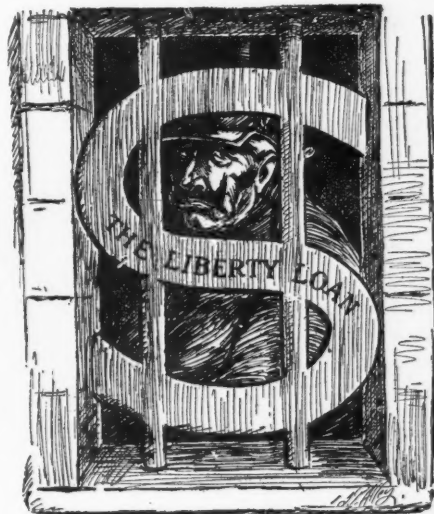
—Baltimore American.

How Constantine Lost His Crown



—St. Louis Republic.

Bars of Gold



—Memphis Commercial Appeal.

[American Cartoons]

Who Next?



—New York World.

That Draft Gives Him a Chill



—Los Angeles Times.

When Charlie Begins Strafing



—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

In the Wrong Shop



—St. Joseph News-Press.

ALGERIAN TROOPS IN FRANCE.



Spahis, native Algerian cavalry, recuperating after a campaign, visiting the ruins of the ancient village of St. Remy at the mouth of the River Rhone.

(French Official Photo from Pictorial Press)

A BRITISH CAMP ON FORMER GERMAN LINES



A photograph taken from a kite balloon showing the winding course of trenches formerly held by the Germans, with a British camp in the background.

(Photo American Press Association)

AN EXAMPLE OF THE WORK OF THE CAMOUFLAGE



A road hidden by screens painted to blend with the surrounding scenery and covered so that aerial observers will think they see grass below them.

(French Official Photo from Pictorial Press)

A HUMAN EPISODE OF THE GREAT WAR



This striking photograph reveals a poignant moment in the drama of a German prisoner who is being questioned by his French captors in the hope that he may divulge facts of military importance.

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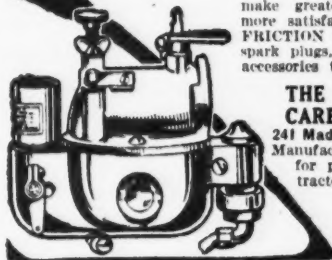
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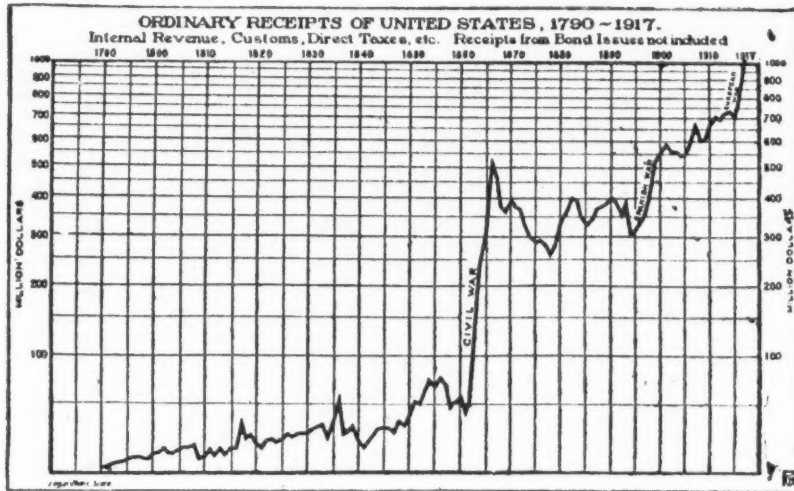


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This chart is plotted on what is known as a logarithmic scale. The usual plotting paper with a scale composed of equidistant lines would not show the fluctuations of the early years in their true proportions to the whole. A rise in revenue of \$10,000,000 before the period of the Civil War was proportionately as important as a similar fluctuation of \$100,000,000 is today. The logarithmic scale brings out these early fluctuations, so that they may be compared to the later ones.

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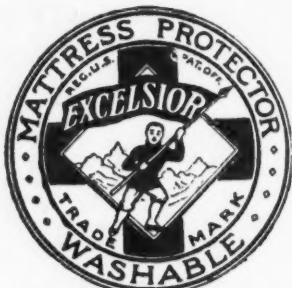
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